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W. ALDIS WRIGHT, M.A.

INGRAM BYWATER, M.A.

AND

HENRY JACKSON, LITT. D.

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VARIOUS NOTES ON THUCYDIDES VI VII.

In the course of lecturing on these books in the year 1894 I found many old difficulties still unsolved by commentators; while several new ones suggested themselves, principally from a study of the full collation of MSS given in Hude's text-edition [Copenhagen 1890]. In this excellent book it is at last possible to see the facts at a glance. Hence most of the following notes, in which I have tried to meet a few difficulties, turn on textual points. I fear I am sadly behind the age, for the tendency of the notes is in the main conservative. The facile bracketing of the subjectively unpleasing (a common phenomenon in modern criticism) is in my eyes tolerable only when unforced reasons can be given to account for the alleged interpolation. This however is seldom the case. The text of the same editor varies in different editions: what was a pointless insertion sometimes becomes a pointed and integral part of the passage; and the repentant critic explains at leisure what he had expunged in haste. So too with verbal emendations. A few are brilliant, a very few certain; while the attempts to change what is presumably bad into what is surely worse are numberless. There are many bad places in the text of Thucydides, and his fondness for rare words may have led

to corruptions in spots as yet unsuspected. On the other hand the unchallenged Vulgate is now and then itself only an emendation, into the claims of which as compared with the MSS reading it is not impertinent to inquire.

These considerations must serve to excuse the following endeavours. Whatever may be the final verdict on Thucydides as an historian, as a writer he retains unimpaired after the lapse of twenty-two centuries his place in the ranks of literature. We may wish that we had better MSS authority for his text; but our means of improving it are after all not better than the MSS themselves. Even corrections made on the evidence of public inscriptions may be inconclusive: for, besides assuming that the inscription is right, we have also to assume that Thucydides was never wrong. On questions of linguistic usage we often encounter the confident announcements of modern experts. But the same critic, who in one place emends on the ground of the uniform practice of the author, in another place ingeniously accounts for the slight but intentional variation of his usage. To strike a fair balance of probabilities is in such matters not easy, and indecision must often commend itself to a sober judge.

I have to add Hude's notation of the MSS

A = *Cisalpinus* or *Italus* (saec X or XI). B = *Vaticanus* (XI).

C = *Laurentianus* (X early). E = *Palatinus* [XI]. F = *Augustanus* [XI].

G = *Monacensis* [XIII]. M = *Britannicus* [XI].

L = *consensus librorum* ABCEFGM. D = *unus pluresve codicum deteriorum.*

VI 8 § 2 *καὶ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων, ὡς εἴη ἑτοῖμα ἔν τε τοῖς ἱεροῖς πολλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς.*

Recent editors, as van Herwerden, Classen, Hude, correct this to *ἐν τῷ κοινῷ*. And it is true that above 6 § 3 we have (speaking of the same matter) *ἐν τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς*. Also that *τὸ κοινόν*, not *τὰ κοινά*, is usual in this sense. Also that Classen can point to passages where the number has probably been wrongly written in the MSS owing to the influence of

neighbouring words, as here of *τοῖς ἱεροῖς*. Also that the Scholiast says *ἐν τῷ ταμιείῳ*.

Still it is on the other hand a striking error to occur in all the best MSS [Hude's L]. For the plural in 8 § 2 comes so very soon after the singular in 6 § 3, and the MSS seem not to vary. The error then, if error it be, is an old one.

For the unusual use of the plural Poppo compares Polybius I 59 § 6 [of the Romans' third naval effort in the first Punic war, and their exhaustion] *χορηγία μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ὑπῆρχε πρὸς τὴν πρόθεσιν ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν τῶν προεστώτων ἀνδρῶν εἰς τὰ κοινὰ φιλοτιμίαν καὶ γενναιότητα προσευρέθη ἡ πρὸς τὴν συντέλειαν*. This does not seem to me quite sufficient for the present purpose. For whether *τὰ κοινὰ* is here literally = 'the treasury' is I think not so certain as to parallel the passage of Thucydides. And I can find no other instance in the lexicon of Schweighäuser.

Yet the inference from 6 § 3 to 8 § 2 is not quite free from objection, for if Thucydides meant to express himself to a slightly different effect in 8 § 2 the argument fails. Classen accordingly adds 'wie wäre in Egesta an mehrere *κοινά* zu denken?' But to what temple at least would the Segestans be more likely to refer than to the famous one at Eryx? And we learn from 46 § 3 that the Athenian envoys had been taken to Eryx to see its treasures, a visit which in point of date comes between 6 § 3 and 8 § 2. Is it not just possible that in 8 § 2 we may have a trace of this, and infer 'mehrere *κοινά*' to have been in the writer's mind? For Eryx and Egesta see 2 § 3. In short, while much tempted by the emendation, I cannot feel that it rests on perfectly safe ground.

14 *τῆς δὲ πόλεως* [*κακῶς*] *βουλευσαμένης ἰατρὸς ἂν γενέσθαι*.

Here L omit *κακῶς*. D [= one or more of the *deteriores*] and the Scholiast read it. Hude and Classen follow L, the latter rendering 'für die Stadt, nachdem sie einen Beschluss gefasst hat,' but citing no parallel or support whatever. Granting that the meaning may be got out of the Greek words, is it credible that such a sentiment would be put into the mouth

of Nikias addressing the Athenian people? To invite men to change their minds on the ground that they have made a mistake is a conceivable position for a speaker to take up: to ask them flatly to change their minds merely because they had previously made them up seems to me an inconceivable one. Therefore I cannot resist the conclusion that some adverb is needed here: whether the ill-supported *κακῶς*, or *οὐκ ὀρθῶς* as in 8 § 4 above, or some other, I do not pretend to guess.

21 § 2 *ἀλλ' ἐς ἀλλοτρίαν πᾶσαν ἀπαρτήσαντες, ἐξ ἧς μηνῶν οὐδὲ τεσσάρων τῶν χειμερινῶν ἄγγελον ῥᾴδιον ἐλθεῖν.*

Reading *στρατευσόμενοι* above with C [*Laurentianus*] and keeping the aorist *ἀπαρτήσαντες*, as Classen and Hude do, and agreeing with Classen's explanation so far as to take it as referring to the conditions of the expedition, I still find it hard either to take *ἀπαρτᾶν* intransitively with Classen or to supply *κομιδὰς* with Liddell and Scott. I do not think we need depend upon the usage of late writers for the former. Can we not supply *παρασκευὴν* from above? The sense would then be 'but that [on *this* expedition] you will have detached your force [from its base] and sent it to a land wholly alien to you [= controlled by your enemies].'

The *οὐδὲ* troubles me far more than the above. It is usually taken with *ἄγγελον*. That is 'not even a messenger, much less a squadron of ships' or words to that effect, I suppose. Classen does not however add this, and his explanation is incomplete. Holm certainly [II p 17] so takes it. Poppo says 'not even a messenger can come thence, much less succours be sent thither.' Surely this is an audacious completion of the sense. And we do not want it: what the messenger would come for is quite clear. But, dropping this bold suggestion, and looking from Sicily to Athens only, is it so very certain that one ship could get over more easily than five or ten? I see no good point in such an antithesis. Meanwhile I feel that *τεσσάρων* would be the better for extra stress, as 'quite four months,' and that *ῥᾴδιον* demands a negative.

I should like to compare 82 § 2 *καὶ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς εἰπεῖν*

οὐδὲ ἀδίκως καταστρεψάμενοι τούς τε Ἴωνας καὶ νησιώτας, where I take *οὐδὲ ἀδίκως* = *καὶ δικαίως*, 'we acted quite fairly in subduing the Ionians and islanders.' The equivalent is substituted partly because of *καὶ* preceding. So in 21 § 2 [a land] 'whence it is a difficult matter to get news for at least four months in the winter.' Perhaps also in VII 44 § 1 *ἦν οὐδὲ πυθέσθαι ῥᾴδιον ἦν* = *ἦν καὶ πυθέσθαι οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἦν* = 'for all my care [V 26 § 5] in inquiry, it was difficult to make out.' For *καὶ* with the numeral see VII 81 § 3 *ἀπεῖχεν ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίους*.

23 § 3 *ὅτι ἐλάχιστα τῇ τύχῃ παραδοὺς ἐμαυτὸν βούλομαι ἐκπλεῖν παρασκευῇ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰκότων ἀσφαλὴς ἐκπλεῦσαι.*

This well known passage with its *ἐκπλεῖν* and *ἐκπλεῦσαι* has caused trouble to many. I am not satisfied with any of the interpretations I have seen. Valla seems not to have had *ἐκπλεῦσαι* at all, and one is sorely tempted to omit it with Krüger and Dobree, a view which Poppo thought probable and Hude has accepted. For immediately below [24 § 1] is a sentence ending *μάλιστα οὕτως ἀσφαλῶς ἐκπλεῦσαι*, which may have suggested its insertion here after *ἀσφαλής*.

The word however stands in L, and I make one more effort —fruitless, I dare say—to explain the antithesis which [*pace* Jowett] must surely exist between the present and aorist if both are kept. I would take it that Nikias is referring really to his own feelings—what he would like to feel in the coming circumstances. He has got to go, and he wishes above all things not to make a mess of the business. He means therefore 'When on my voyage to Sicily I wish to feel that I have not given myself over into Fortune's power more than is unavoidable, and when I start I wish to feel that in all probability the strength of the armament secures me against failure.' Nikias is always wanting to 'see his way,' to 'feel easy' about taking a definite step.

Thus I take *ἐκπλεῖν* of the voyage in its course, *ἐκπλεῦσαι* of the starting: and Nikias would comfort himself thus, (*a*) *ἐκπλέω ὅτι ἐλάχιστα τῇ τύχῃ παραδοὺς ἐμαυτόν*, and (*b*) *ἐξέπλευσα παρασκευῇ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰκότων ἀσφαλής*. The

second is the ground of the first, and in speaking beforehand it is naturally included with the first under the wish expressed by *βούλομαι*.

24 § 3 *ὁ δὲ πολὺς ὅμιλος καὶ στρατιώτης* [hoping] *ἔν τε τῷ παρόντι ἀργύριον οἴσειν καὶ προσκτήσασθαι δύναμιν ὅθεν ἀίδιον μισθοφορὰν ὑπάρξειν.*

Madvig, Stahl, Hude, correct the *προσκτήσασθαι* of L into *προσκτήσεσθαι*, which is doubtless neater. But is this necessary after the notion of hoping, clearly to be derived from the context? I think Classen is right in keeping the aorist. Such passages are a great temptation to editors. Just above we have *ἀποτρέψειν.....ἐκπλεῦσαι*, where Bekker Stahl and Hude would insert an *ἄν* to improve *ἐκπλεῦσαι*. Vainly, as I think. A crowd of passages could be cited by any reader of Thucydides, in most of which doubts have been raised concerning the text. See Classen on VIII 5 § 5.

In the present passage however I am chiefly concerned with the word *στρατιώτης*. Classen takes it = *στρατευόμενος* and makes it predicative, 'the great mass of the people hoping to earn money by serving as soldiers.' With this I cannot agree. I take it attributively with the Scholiast [*ἤγουν τὸ στρατιωτικὸν πλῆθος*], and the *καὶ*, which Classen correlates with the *καὶ* following, as being that habitually used when *πολὺς* and another adjective are combined. I take *στρατιώτης* in the sense common in the time of Aristotle and Demosthenes [see Ar Pol VIII (V) 6 §§ 12, 13, Eth III 8 §§ 6—9, 9 § 6] of 'paid soldier.' Thus I render 'and the great mass of those who lived by soldiering [favoured the design] hoping both for present pay and for further acquisition of resources that would prove an inexhaustible source of pay hereafter.'

It may be objected that this technical sense of *στρατιώτης* is later, and not to be attributed to Thucydides. I would answer that changes of usage come in gradually, and for the most part are hardly noticed at first. Also that I am not supposing that Thucydides would have used it in the full later sense = *ξένος* = 'mercenary.' The *στρατιώτης* is still a citizen,

and the use of mercenaries is only beginning [cf. Thuc I 60, VI 22, VII 27 § 2, 29 § 1, 57 § 9].

I may add that this view finds what I think valuable support in the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*. In 24 § 1 we read of Aristides *συνεβούλευεν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ καταβάντας ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν οἰκεῖν ἐν τῷ ἄστει· τροφὴν γὰρ ἔσεσθαι πᾶσι, τοῖς μὲν στρατευομένοις, τοῖς δὲ φρουροῦσι, τοῖς δὲ τὰ κοινὰ πράττουσι.* And in 27 § 2 we have.....*ὁ πρὸς Πελοποννησίους ἐνέστη πόλεμος, ἐν ᾧ κατακλῃσθεὶς ὁ δῆμος ἐν τῷ ἄστει καὶ συνεθισθεὶς ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις μισθοφορεῖν, τὰ μὲν ἑκὼν τὰ δὲ ἄκων προῃρεῖτο τὴν πολιτείαν διοικεῖν αὐτός.* These passages well describe the change in the lives of a vast number of Athenian citizens. Instead of farmers desiring peace (invasion being their ruin), busy men and not given to regular attendance at public assemblies, they became 'resident voters,' whose time was divided between city loafing and military service abroad. Expecting easy victory and personal advantage from the Sicilian war, they gave their votes for it. Compare Aristoph birds 1367 *φρούρει στρατεύου μισθοφορῶν σαυτὸν τρέφε.*

Such was the class to whom I think Thucydides refers in this place. The *μισθοφορὰ* of which he speaks is not wholly military: it would include for instance the *μισθὸς δικαστικός*.

34 § 5 *ἀποροῖεν ἂν κατὰ χωρία ἔρημα.*

I do not know of any passage earlier than this in which the south-eastern coast of Italy is spoken of in such terms as these. The words are notable, for, if we once bring it home to our minds that in an age when a number of Greek city states occupied the region Thucydides could still speak of 'desert places,' we shall get clearer and probably truer views of the country than are to be got from most historical manuals. I take it that the Italiot cities occupied the picked spots here and there, that their lands were tilled and their river-outfalls kept clear by slave labour, and that the rest of the coast was a dreary pestilential waste, much as it is now. We often hear of the greatness and splendour of these cities: we seldom hear of the parts between them. Therefore, I think commentators

might well call attention to such a passage as the present. The desolation of these coasts is no modern thing. Health has always been the difficult question: it is not a mere chance that Kroton and Taras, though much shrunken, still survive, while Metapontum has left only a ruined temple and Sybaris nothing.

For *χωρία ἔρημα* compare I 52 § 2 (of Sybota), IV 3 §§ 2, 3 (of Pylos).

46 § 2 *καὶ τῷ μὲν Νικίᾳ προσδεχομένῳ ἦν τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἐγεσταίων, τοῖν δὲ ἑτέροιν καὶ ἀλογώτερα.*

Editors are far from agreed as to the force of *καὶ ἀλογώτερα*. Jowett's rendering 'to the two others their behaviour appeared even more incomprehensible than the defection of the Rhegians' [which has been referred to just before], is hardly admissible; for the point of difference between Nikias and his colleagues becomes less clear. Others render 'was even more unexpected [than it was expected by Nikias].' This seems to me very forced, for *καὶ ἄλογα* 'quite unaccountable' would give as good sense or better, and the comparative appears otiose. Classen says it 'upset their calculations all the more [because they had believed the reports of the envoys].' That is, it was all the more unaccountable than it would have seemed to them had they like Nikias been incredulous from the first. This is surely a great deal to read into the comparative. Feeling the difficulty, van Herwerden proposed *ἀλογώτατα*, which Classen (rightly, I think,) rejects.

I have wondered whether a simpler explanation may not meet the case better than any of these. Thucydides is clearly giving Nikias credit for his wise forecast, and contrasting therewith the foolish credulity of his colleagues. May it not be closely akin to the common use of the comparative that we often express by 'somewhat,' implying a slight censure? 'Nikias was not surprised at the news from Segesta, but his two colleagues did find it somewhat disconcerting,' [which ought not to have been the case].

Compare 91 § 2 *Σικελιῶται γὰρ ἀπειρότεροι μέν εἰσιν, ὅμως δ' ἂν.....περιγένοιντο*, 'the Sicilian Greeks are it is true somewhat lacking in warlike skill,' gently implying that they are

unwise not to have trained themselves better [cf 69 § 1, 72 §§ 2—4]. So VIII 84 § 2 *ὁ δὲ αὐθαδέστερόν τέ τι ἀπεκρίνατο καὶ ἠπείλησε*, 'he gave them a roughish sort of answer and used threats,' that is, rougher than was exactly judicious just then. Such passages are of course common enough.

It will I think be seen that I thus get the contrast between Nikias and his colleagues clearly. To him there was no *παράλογος*, to them there was: and they had only their own folly to thank for it.

57 § 3 *παρὰ τὸ Λεωκόριον καλούμενον.*

It has long been considered very probable that *περὶ* should be read here for *παρὰ* on account of the parallel passage in I 20. Now—such are the perils of emendation—it appears certain that in 'Aθ *πολιτεία* 18 § 3 the papyrus gives *παρά*. At first sight this seems to shew that in adopting *περὶ* from one or more of the inferior MSS Hude was wrong. But in both passages of Thucydides the words seem to go with *περιτυχόντες* [I 20] *περιέτυχον* [VI 57], while in Aristotle *παρὰ τὸ Λεωκόρειον* may, and I fancy does, go with *διακοσμοῦντα τὴν πομπήν*. It seems to me therefore that the question is still open, and the inferior MSS have given useful help in not a few passages. Maybe this is one.

62 § 2 *παραπλέοντες δ' ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τὴν Σικελίαν.*

Poppo points out that *ἐν ἀριστερᾷ* needs to have *ἔχοντες* or *λαβόντες* supplied with it, after the usage of Thucydides. So far well. But Classen (1876) goes on to say 'das kaum zu entbehren ist.' Surely this is too strong. For in the passages cited the participle goes with a verb, and that verb no part of *παραπλεῖν*. In III 106 § 1 with *ἐχώρουν*, in VII 1 § 1 with *διακινδυνεύσωσιν ἐσπλεῦσαι*, in VIII 101 § 1 with *ἔπλεον*. And in passages where the construction is different we need no more than to supply a participle mentally, if that. Thus II 100 § 4 *ἐς τὴν ἄλλην Μακεδονίαν προυχώρει τὴν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Πέλλης καὶ Κύρρου [κειμένην]*, I 24 § 1 *Ἐπίδαμνός ἐστι πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσπλέοντι τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον*. Here it would be awkward to have *ἔχοντες* or *λαβόντες* with the participle *παραπλέοντες*,

and to me it seems that *παραπλεῖν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τὴν Σικελίαν* is a possible construction. At least I need further proof to induce me to believe otherwise. Surely the *ἔχοντες* or *λαβόντες* can be mentally understood. In VII 1 § 1 it is to be supplied with *ἐν ἀριστερᾷ* from the immediate context.

[Classen has since (1881) altered his note. He now explains the absence of the participle on the ground that the writer is not here keeping in view, or denoting (bezeichnen), a remote end [of the voyage]. I cannot see how his note helps matters; so I let the above stand, wishing to deal directly with the question of the construction.]

62 § 3 *καὶ ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ αἱροῦσιν Ὕκκαρα πόλισμα Σικανικὸν μὲν Ἐγεσταίοις δὲ πολέμιον.*

I do not find that editors explain the force of the *μὲν* and *δὲ* here. Hykkara was a Sikan stronghold. Why should they attack the Sikans? with them Athens had apparently no quarrel. The enemy were Greek states, the Sikeliot majority, and at this end of the island Selinus in particular. The force of the passage then is 'they took Hykkara, not a Greek state it is true, but one belonging to enemies of [their ally] Segesta.'

According to Diodorus XIII 6 and the authorities of Athenaeus XIII 54—5 Hykkara belonged to the Sikels (*Σικελικόν*). Plutarch Nikias 15 calls it simply *βαρβαρικόν*. But these accounts serve nothing to overthrow the words of Thucydides, where the good MSS [save C, giving *Σικανόν*][1] attest *Σικανικόν*. Thucydides distinguishes the Sicilian races more clearly than the later writers.

In VI 2 §§ 2, 3, he tells us that the first immigration of which there was real knowledge was that of the Sikans, who in his time still dwelt in the western parts of the island. Next to them came the Elymi, whose cities are Eryx and Segesta. Thus they were neighbours of the Sikans, and hence it is not strange that we find them enemies. Now the Elymi were allied with the Phoenicians of Carthage [2 § 5], and it was the progress of Greek colonization that disturbed the Phoenician

[1] In VI 94 § 3, where editors read *Σικελῶν*, ACEFM have *Σικελὸν* and B *Σικελικόν*.

factories scattered about the coast of Sicily and drove them to a forced concentration in the West. We thus get the following relations

Elymi enemies of Sikans,
Phoenicians „ Greeks.

Is it too much to infer that the Sikans were at least on friendly terms with (say) Selinus, and that this fact, learnt from the Segestans, was the real motive of the Athenian attack?

62 § 4 (*Νικίας δὲ εὐθὺς ἐξ Ὑκκάρων ἐπὶ Ἐγέστης παραπλεύσας καὶ τἆλλα χρηματίσας καὶ λαβὼν τάλαντα τριάκοντα παρῆν ἐς τὸ στράτευμα*).

Classen makes a double operation, only part of which is directly expressed by Thucydides. He explains *παρῆν ἐς τὸ στράτευμα* 'rejoined the main fleet.' That is, while the mass of the land force [? under Lamachus] marched back through the interior to Katana, Nikias did as follows. He (*a*) went with a detachment of the fleet to [the Segestan port and so up to] Segesta, (*b*) did business there and with his detachment rejoined the main fleet, (*c*) sailed back with the whole to Katana.

On this I remark that (*a*) no detachment is mentioned in the text, (*b*) the reference to the main fleet just preceding [*αἱ δὲ νῆες περιέπλευσαν τὰ ἀνδράποδα ἄγουσαι*] has its main point in the participle, as often: render 'the prisoners were put on board the ships and taken round by sea,' leaving the land force unencumbered, (*c*) *τὸ στράτευμα* probably means the army as a whole [cf 74 § 1 *τὸ δ' ἐν Κατάνῃ στράτευμα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἔπλευσεν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Μεσσήνην ὡς προδοθησομένην*, where surely the land forces would be on board], and (*d*) to get the sense he requires Classen has to read *προπλεύσας* for *παραπλεύσας*, a conjecture which Hude does not even notice.

I hold that, whether Nikias took the whole fleet with him to the Segestan port or not, *παρῆν ἐς τὸ στράτευμα* most naturally refers to the reunion of forces at Katana. And from what we know of Nikias I rather doubt his having trusted himself with a small squadron off a coast held by suspected friends and certain enemies. If we look at the plan of campaign attributed to him (47) he did not propose to return home

otherwise than *παραπλεύσαντας τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις καὶ ἐπιδείξαντας μὲν τὴν δύναμιν τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως* and so forth. Would he have been likely to employ a petty squadron at any part of the western coast to display the might of Athens?

The version of Holm II p 24 is slightly different from that of Classen, but my objections apply to it equally.

62 § 4 *καὶ τἀνδράποδα ἀπέδοσαν καὶ ἐγένοντο ἐξ αὐτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα.*

For *ἀπέδοσαν* of L, *ἀπεδόθησαν* Madvig, Stahl, Hude, *ἀπέδοντο* Bekker, Classen, and others. It is true that all explanations not giving the sense of *selling* are unsatisfactory, and that we do not know that *ἀπέδοσαν* can bear this sense. We do however find *ποιεῖν* and *βουλεύειν* and I think other actives, where we should rather expect middles, in Thucydides. I hope he wrote *ἀπέδοντο* here. I wish I had the robust faith in our means of knowledge to assure me that he did not write *ἀπέδοσαν* meaning 'sold.' It is easier and much pleasanter to be sure than to doubt. But I do doubt.

Stahl in his new edition of Poppo now keeps *ἀπέδοσαν*, comparing Eur Cycl 239. But is it clear that *ἀποδώσειν τινὶ* there means more than 'hand over'?

62 § 5 *καὶ ἐς τοὺς τῶν Σικελῶν ξυμμάχους περιέπλευσαν, στρατιὰν κελεύοντες πέμπειν.*

The Sikels were no doubt mostly inland. But it is a most arbitrary assumption to hold that they had no access to the coast. And *περιέπλευσαν* surely includes short expeditions up country from points on the coast, if and where necessary. See the case of Nikias just above. It is true that Strabo p 270, VI 2 § 4, says of *βάρβαροι* in Sicily *οὐδένα δὲ τῆς παραλίας εἶων οἱ Ἕλληνες ἅπτεσθαι.* If this be accurate [and Kale Akte is no exception, Freeman II 378—81, III 158—9], it still does not shew that they were not accessible from the coast. In any case it only applies to the parts of the coast under Greek control.

Surely it is quite unnecessary to read *περιέπεμπον* with Classen or *περιέπεμψαν* with Stahl and Hude.

64 § 1 *καὶ βουλόμενοι αὐτοὺς ἄγειν πανδημεὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὅτι πλεῖστον.*

Classen remarks that when Thucydides wants to express the notion 'draw away' or such like he usually says *ἀπάγειν*, not *ἄγειν*. He cites I 109 § 2, III 36 § 1, VI 73. In the last of these passages the Syrakusans ask the Spartans to carry on open war against the Athenians at home *ἵνα ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς Σικελίας ἀπαγάγωσιν αὐτοὺς ἢ...*, 'so as either to draw them away from Sicily or [stop their sending reinforcements thither].' So in the other two cases: a force attacking point A is to be withdrawn, either by threatening point B, or effecting a diversion in some other way. Indeed our word 'divert' comes nearest to *ἀπάγειν* in several shades of meaning. So II 59 § 4 *ἀπαγαγὼν τὸ ὀργιζόμενον τῆς γνώμης*, 65 § 1 *καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν παρόντων δεινῶν ἀπάγειν τὴν γνώμην.* So V 35 § 5 *καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης στρατιώτας ἀπαγαγεῖν*, 'they had withdrawn them [home from the seat of war].' So often *ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιάν*, 'to withdraw the army from the field of battle to their quarters.'

But in the present passage the enemy are to be drawn away from their quarters or base, Syracuse, to Katana by a ruse. Here *ἄγειν* is most natural and fits admirably with the following words. There is so far as I can see no reason whatever for detecting anything peculiar in the expression, or for adopting van Herwerden's conjecture *ἀπάγειν*.

64 § 1 *εἰδότες οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως δυνηθέντες* [*καὶ*] *εἰ ἐκ τῶν νεῶν πρὸς παρεσκευασμένους ἐκβιβάζοιεν.*

So Hude gives the text, and indeed I can see nothing to be done but either (*a*) to omit *καὶ*, which the Scholiast and Valla seem not to have read, or (*b*) to read *λυπηθέντες* for *δυνηθέντες*. The former plan is that of Reiske, the latter the ingenious conjecture of Classen. Perhaps Poppo's proposal [*εἰ ἢ* from Valla's *si aut*, instead of *καὶ εἰ*] is also worth considering.

But there is another trouble below. For ABEFM have *ἐκβιάζοιεν*, and this is added as a correction by the *manus secunda* in G. C and G have *ἐκβιβάζοιεν*. Classen keeps the former, pointing out that in V 98 *τῶν δικαίων λόγων ἡμᾶς ἐκβιβάσαντες* the same MSS give *ἐκβιάσαντες*, which he accord-

ingly restores there also. He points out that the active form occurs in later writers, and cites Plutarch quaest conv IV 1 § 2 (p 662 a). Add de mulier virt p 243 f, from Liddell and Scott. But in these places, as in Thuc V 98, there is an object either expressed or clearly understood. Not so in the present passage, if we read *ἐκβιάζοιεν*. With *ἐκβιβάζοιεν* we clearly understand *τὸ στράτευμα*, and surely this is right here, whatever may be thought of the other passage.

Compare also Themistius or VII 92 a *ὁ μὲν εἰς ἔργον ἐξεβίασε τὴν ὀργήν*, where the object is expressed. For the confusion in MSS see Thuc VII 60 § 2 where for *ἐσβιβάζοντες* AEFM have *ἐσβιάζοντες*.

64 § 3 *καὶ εἰ βούλονται ἐκεῖνοι πανδημεὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ῥητῇ ἅμα ἕῳ ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἐλθεῖν, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀποκλῄσειν τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐμπρήσειν ἐκείνους δὲ ῥᾳδίως [τὸ στράτευμα] προσβαλόντας τῷ σταυρώματι αἱρήσειν.*

For *τοὺς* the reading of C, adopted by most modern editors, ABEFGM give *αὐτούς*. Poppo remarks that in the passage of Diodorus [XIII 6] we find *ἄφνω*, and suggests that *αὐτοὺς* may be a corruption retaining a trace of *ἄφνω* (or *αὐτίκα*) *τούς*. This is ingenious, but I fancy that here as in several other passages the Laurentian MS (C) has preserved the right reading.

Bloomfield, Poppo, Classen (1876), bracket the second *τὸ στράτευμα* as an insertion derived from the first. I observe however that for *σταυρώματι* below CG give *στρατεύματι*, and the Scholiast so corrects. Thus we see that the two words not only could be, but were, easily confused. Is it not therefore possible that *τὸ στάυρωμα* may have been written just above, and corrupted into *τὸ στράτευμα*? If this once happened, *τῷ σταυρώματι* would easily be added.

But the passage will make sense as it stands, though it does run awkwardly, and how far any changes may bring us nearer to the words of Thucydides is very hard to guess. Classen (1881) now keeps *τὸ στράτευμα* as opposed to *τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι*, rightly, I think.

69 § 1 *οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι ἀπροσδόκητοι μὲν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ*

τούτῳ ἦσαν ὡς ἤδη μαχούμενοι καί τινες αὐτῶν ἐγγὺς τῆς πόλεως οὔσης καὶ ἀπεληλύθεσαν.

Here L give *ἐπεληλύθεσαν*, which Classen tries to explain 'had gone thither,' that is, to the city. But can this sense be got out of it? I doubt it, and so did Poppo, who in rejecting the reading adds 'sed requiritur verbum sonans *abierant* vel *ingressi erant* (*urbem*), non *aggressi erant*.' Some of D read *ἀπεληλύθεσαν*, so did Valla, and Reiske, Bekker, Poppo, Hude, accept it. Rightly, I am convinced. The slip is very small, and the same doubt occurs elsewhere. In VII 26 § 2 we have *ἐπειδὴ ξυγκατέλαβε τὸ χωρίον, ἐπέπλει ἐπὶ τῆς Κερκύρας*, according to ACEFGM. In B is *ἐπιπαρέπλει* ['nur aus Verschreibung,' says Classen]. Some of D give *παρέπλει*, which is accepted by Classen, Poppo, Hude. But their main reason seems to be that *παραπλεῖν* is the usual compound in speaking of coasting voyages. Classen openly gives this reason. If so, what about VII 31 § 1 (referring back to 26 § 2) *ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης τότε ἀποπλέων ἐπὶ τῆς Κερκύρας.....*? Here there is no variant to *ἀποπλέων*, but instead of *ἐπὶ* ACEFGM give *ἐκ*, surely a blundering correction if ever there was one. B has preserved *ἐπί*. Now is not it much the simplest and most probable correction to read *ἀπέπλει* in VII 26 § 2? I have long thought so, and find that Reiske had forestalled the proposal. To what shifts we may be brought by reading *παρέπλει*, may be seen by Classen's note on 31 § 1 'vgl c 26, wo seine Fahrt ihrem nächsten Cours gemäss als *παραπλεῖν* bezeichnet war.' Surely it is better to keep *ἐπέπλει*, and explain it how we may, than to argue round and round like this.

If in VI 69 § 1 we are to supply mentally *ἐς τὴν πόλιν*, compare the parallel passage in 100 § 1 *ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀποκεχωρηκότας*, where there is clearly the notion of having left their post.

In III 89 § 2, where the MSS give *ἐπελθοῦσα*, I cannot help preferring Madvig's *ἀπελθοῦσα* to the *ἐπανελθοῦσα* of Haack Poppo Classen and others, suggested by the words of the Scholiast.

69 § 3 *ἔπειτα δὲ ἐν παρέργῳ καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ξυγκαταστρεψαμένοις ῥᾷον αὐτοῖς ὑπακούσεται.*

Such is the text of Arnold Poppo and others, and the only important MS variant is that ABF have *συγκαταστεψομένοις* [—*όμενοι* E], which nobody ventures to accept. Emendation has set in with great severity in recent years, as a reference to Hude will shew. But it all rests on the assumption that *ὑπακούσεται* cannot be taken impersonally as a passive. Hence Poppo leans to reading *ὑπακουσθήσεται*. Others take *τὸ ὑπήκοον τῶν ξυμμάχων* above as nominative to *ὑπακούσεται*, and both *ξυγκαταστρεψαμένοις* and *αὐτοῖς* of the Athenians. But it is so very strange to find the notion of 'uniting to subdue' or 'helping to subdue' applied to them rather than to their allies that Hude again conjectures *ξυγκαταστρεψάμενον*. Which is not to be wondered at. Indeed I am convinced that it must refer to the allies, they helping the Athenians. So I think does *αὐτοῖς* 'they themselves,' marking the excusable selfishness of their motive, and so better than *σφίσι*. Besides, *ὑπακούειν* with genitive of the ruler is the regular construction, not rare in Thucydides. For *ῥᾷον* compare *βιαιότερον* 85 § 2.

Now is it so certain that *ὑπακούσεται* cannot mean 'their own subjection might be on easier terms,' that is 'to lighten their own yoke'? Is this not just one of the questions that no one but an Athenian of Thucydides' time could answer? Reading the passage over and over again I feel more and more how vastly better it is as it stands in respect of rhythm than all the emendations save perhaps Badham's and Hude's, who alone keep *ὑπακούσεται*. The former is very clever—*εἴ τις ἄλλους ξυγκαταστρεψάμενος ῥᾷον αὐτὸς ὑπακούσεται*. It has this great merit, that it has not 'makeshift' writ large all over it, as most of these efforts of the learned certainly have. But it is too bold to be admitted into a text until it turns up on a papyrus roll, as it may yet do.

I prefer to keep the text as delivered in the MSS, to render *ὑπακούσεται* in the way supposed by many to be impossible, and to wait for the chance of further information turning up. Meanwhile, dogmatize who will.

That these future forms are often used passively is well known. Such are II 87 § 11 *τιμήσονται* [also Soph and Plato], IV 30 § 4 *τηρήσονται. στερήσεσθαι, βλάψονται, πολε-*

μήσονται, ἀδικήσεσθαι, are cited from other parts of Thucydides. Add Eurip Hipp 1460 and Monk's note, Iph A 331, Ion 604, Plato republic p 361 e. These of course are not fully parallel to *ὑπακούσεται,* the active form *ἀκούσω* not being in use. But the passage VIII 43 § 2 is worth comparing in full [*λόγους ἐποιοῦντο.....*] *καὶ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος πολέμου, ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἄριστα καὶ ξυμφορώτατα ἀμφοτέροις πολεμήσεται.*

89 § 2 *τῶν δ' ἡμῶν προγόνων τὴν προξενίαν ὑμῶν κατά τι ἔγκλημα ἀπειπόντων, αὐτὸς ἐγὼ.....*

So read in L. That *τῶν δ' ἐμῶν,* the correction of Haacke, is an improvement, seems pretty generally agreed. *τῶν δὴ ἐμῶν* (Reiske) is I think rightly rejected by Classen. The *ἡμῶν* is awkward in itself, for he goes on *μου, ἐμοῦ, μοι, με,* before getting to the plurals *ἐσμεν, ἡμῖν, ἐπειρώμεθα, ἡμεῖς.* These I presume refer to himself and his family. Compare *ἡμῖν* in Plato Polit 257 d. Still the plurals are not very far off, and the series of singulars is introduced by the emphatic *αὐτὸς ἐγώ.*

I confess that I find *ἡμῶν* hard to defend, but I think too much stress is laid on its position, before *προγόνων* and not after it. The genitive does sometimes precede, as III 22 § 7 *ἐκ τῆς αὐτῶν φυλακῆς* etc, though I know of no passage so harsh as the present one. But if we put *ἡμῶν* after *προγόνων* we get an awkward sound, suggesting a false antithesis to *ὑμῶν.* And so I cannot feel sure that we are on a sure footing when we condemn *ἡμῶν.* It is justly suspected, but I do not see that we are justified in casting it out of the text.

In VII 66 § 2 (*ἀρχὴν τὴν ἥδη μεγίστην* etc) Classen points out that in sense *ἥδη* affects *κεκτημένους* below, and goes on to suspect its genuineness. But here too we may reply that if transposed it comes next to *νῦν,* which is not so well. For casting it out he gives no good reason.

96 § 2 *ἐξήρτηται γὰρ τὸ ἄλλο χωρίον καὶ μέχρι τῆς πόλεως ἐπικλινές τέ ἐστι καὶ ἐπιφανὲς πᾶν εἴσω.*

The difficulties connected with *ἐξήρτηται* I will not discuss, having nothing to add to what has already been said. I assume

that the rise of the ground is in any case referred to, whether the correction *ἐξῆρται* be adopted or not.

The last words have however given much trouble. Classen takes them to mean that the whole interior of the city is visible from Epipolae; and I am told that an eminent English scholar agrees with him. But this makes *ἐπικλινὲς* and *ἐπιφανὲς* refer to two different things, which seems to me impossible. Poppo follows Portus' *introrsus patens* 'nach innen hin sichtbar,' remarking that there is here as often a change in the point of view. As I understand him, Epipolae is exposed to view inwards; that is, to the eye of one who from within the city looks outwards. He compares VII 19 § 2 *ἐπιφανὲς μέχρι τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως*, said of Dekeleia. This refers *ἐπιφανὲς* to Epipolae, and gives the general drift of sense rightly, I think: but I can hardly follow him in the very awkward change of standpoint to which he resorts in order to explain *εἴσω*. How then are we to get the general sense required without virtually making *εἴσω* = *ἔσωθεν* or *ἔξω*, which we can hardly admit?

I have wondered whether by *εἴσω* Thucydides may here have meant 'looking inward,' that is, into or towards the country from the town. That the word does sometimes come very near to such a sense can hardly be denied. In II 100 § 5, speaking of the Thracians invading Macedonia, he says *ἔσω δὲ τούτων ἐς τὴν Βοττιαίαν καὶ Πιερίαν οὐκ ἀφίκοντο*, that is they did not penetrate further into the country than the parts mentioned just before. In IV 109 § 2, speaking of Brasidas' expedition into *τὴν Ἀκτὴν καλουμένην*, he says *ἔστι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως διορύγματος ἔσω προύχουσα, καὶ ὁ Ἄθως αὐτῆς ὄρος ὑψηλὸν τελευτᾷ ἐς τὸ Αἰγαῖον πέλαγος*. 'This is a foreland running back from the canal of Xerxes; Mount Athos at its point abuts on the Aegean sea.' That is, if you stand by the canal and look up the country [inward], you are looking at the land called Akte. Of course if you looked *ἔσω* in the other direction you would have Macedonia before you. In considering this interpretation it is well to refer to *ἐν στενῷ ἰσθμῷ* in IV 113 § 2, VI 97 § 1. The peninsula is 'within' or cut off by a narrow neck, and hence, when regarded from the neck, it is *ἔσω*. This is what I try to express by 'back.' The passage in Herodotus

referring to the same peninsula VII 22 is notable. He says *ἐν δὲ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τούτῳ, ἐς τὸν τελευτᾷ ὁ Ἄθως, Σάνη πόλις Ἑλλὰς οἴκηται· αἱ δὲ ἐντὸς Σάνης ἔσω δὲ τοῦ Ἄθω οἰκημέναι.....εἰσὶ αἵδε.* Here he calls the whole peninsula Athos (not Akte), and measures from the point to the low neck in which it ends. Then, still looking from the point, he speaks of the cities on the near side (*ἐντὸς*) of Sane and inwards or up country (*ἔσω*) from Athos the mountain-cape. The passages in the two writers are worth comparing in full.

I submit that my suggestion derives some support from these citations, and that it is tenable. If so, we get Poppo's sense in a simpler and less objectionable way.

104 § 2 *καὶ ἁρπασθεὶς ὑπ' ἀνέμου κατὰ τὸν* Τεριναῖον *κόλπον, ὃς ἐκπνεῖ ταύτῃ μέγας κατὰ βορέαν ἑστηκώς, ἀποφέρεται ἐς τὸ πέλαγος.*

The objection to the traditional text, that the Terinaean gulf is on the wrong side of Italy and that *κατὰ* is impossible in the sense forced upon it, is generally deemed fatal. Hence Poppo proposes *Ταραντῖνον*, which (as Classen remarks) does not suit the course of the narrative, Gylippus being already well past the Tarantine gulf. Göller Classen and Hude would strike out *κατὰ...κόλπον* as an interpolation, and so be rid of the trouble, at the same time bringing *ὃς* nearer to *ἀνέμου*. This is very pretty and ingenious: but are we so well informed as to the geographical language of Greek writers that we can venture on so bold a step?

Livy gives no rule or standard for Thucydides. But we may gather from him something as to possible looseness of language in days before accurate maps and charts. In XXIV 13 § 5 Hannibal is considering Tarentum, from which he had just received friendly proposals. He is at the time near Puteoli. Livy says *urbem esse videbat.....in Macedoniam opportune versam, regemque Philippum hunc portum, si transiret in Italiam, Brundisium Romani haberent, petiturum.* Here a place that looks right away from Macedonia is spoken of as looking towards it, simply because it would to Hannibal be the port nearest to Macedonia that he had any chance of getting. I am not to

blame the looseness of the language: the meaning is clear enough. But it stirs in me a lurking doubt lest in correcting the MS reading here we may be correcting Thucydides himself.

I may also point out that, while Italy is really narrow between the Terinaean and Skyllacian gulfs, this narrowness was perhaps even exaggerated by some ancient writers. Strabo (writing after Antiochus of Syracuse, whose work was probably used by Thucydides) speaks in VI 1 § 4 [p 255] of it as *ὁ ἰσθμός*, and Pliny nat hist III § 95 (which see) even tells us that the elder Dionysius had a scheme for cutting through the isthmus and adding the island thus formed to his Sicilian empire.

There is just enough in these considerations to make me feel doubtful of the safety of the proposal of Göller and others, wise though it may seem at first sight. And so I deprecate a dogmatism which may possibly be premature.

VII 30 § 2 *καὶ ἀποκτείνουσιν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἐσβάσει τοὺς πλείστους οὔτε ἐπισταμένους νεῖν τῶν τε ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις, ὡς ἑώρων τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ, ὁρμισάντων ἔξω τοξεύματος τὰ πλοῖα.*

So some of D, Valla, Duker, and modern editors. Bekker kept the old reading *τοῦ ζεύγματος*. The latter is found in L [*τοῦ ζεύματος* B, *τοῦ ζεύγματος* ACEF, *τοῦ .εύματος* G with a letter erased].

If the statue of Diitrephes, *χαλκοῦς ἀνδριὰς ὀιστοῖς βεβλημένος*, spoken of by Pausanias I 23 § 3 as in the Acropolis, referred to this affair, we may suppose that the commander was killed or severely wounded by arrows, and *τοξεύματος* seems very natural. But Thucydides, who so often mentions the wounding or killing of officers (as here below of the Theban Skirphondas), gives not a word to this effect. And Pausanias, writing of Diitrephes as the hero of Mykalessus, and being acquainted with the work of Thucydides [VI 19 § 5], does not help us. For he adds below [§ 4] *τοσοῦτον μὲν παρέστη μοι θαῦμα ἐς τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Διιτρεφοῦς, ὅτι ὀιστοῖς ἐβέβλητο, Ἕλλησιν ὅτι μὴ Κρησὶν οὐκ ἐπιχώριον ὂν τοξεύειν.* If there had been a tradition that Diitrephes was severely wounded with arrows in the affair (a story such as that of Scaeva in Lucan), it seems at least to have been lost in the time of

Pausanias. Classen admits that the bow and arrow were not the usual Boeotian weapons. Perhaps then we had better be careful about correcting the best manuscripts of Thucydides.

Is it possible that τοῦ ζεύγματος may mean 'the pontoon'? We know ζευγνύναι and ζεῦγμα as regularly used of floating bridges. In Polybius III 46 the word is used of the great rafts or floating bridges used for ferrying the elephants across the Rhone, and in Plut Marcell 14—15 of the ships joined together to form the base of the Sambuca. The πλοῖα in which these savages reached the Boeotian coast were left moored [ὥρμει], probably each with an anchor down, in the Euripus. Now, how would one arrange for the speedy and orderly disembarking and reembarking 1300 men? Surely by laying out a gangway for them to march along to the shore. But the moment of their return would be quite uncertain. Therefore the gangway must be left in position, for it would be too late possibly to construct it anew when you saw them coming back helter skelter with an enemy at their heels. And if there was to be a gangway, there would be no easier way of making it than by laying planks across one or more boats. Then the πλοῖα could come alongside in deep water and discharge their men without confusion. And, if (as was the case) you had to conduct the reembarkation under an enemy's attack, you could slip off the moment you got the men on board and leave the gangway.

It may be said, this is just what the skippers did not do. Yes, and hence the mess. It must however be remembered that Diitrephes landed with the Thracians, and there may very well have been no one on board with authority and nerve enough to deal with the flurry of the moment. Fear would lead them to move the ships out of reach of the pontoon, lest the enemy might follow the Thracians on board.

It may be said again, that I am not allowing for the habit of beaching ships and for the use of oars. But these vessels were πλοῖα, vessels of freight, more like ὁλκάδες than τριήρεις.

48 § 3 *καὶ γὰρ οὐ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ψηφιεῖσθαί τε περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ πράγματα ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁρῶντας καὶ οὐκ ἄλλων ἐπιτιμήσει ἀκούσαντας γνώσεσθαι.*

Krüger would read *αὐτοῦ* for *αὐτοὺς* here, which does not seem to me to fit in with the latter part of the sentence. Bekker and others throw out *αὐτῶν*, which relieves the complexity of the thought a little. But *αὐτῶν* stands in the MSS, and who was likely to have added it wilfully? I prefer to try to explain the traditional text. I extract from it the following propositions

1. In this council of war we are (*a*) voting on our own case (*b*) possessed of personal knowledge, not swayed by second-hand calumny, as to the true position of affairs.

2. At home all this will be reversed; the Assembly will be (*a*) voting on our case (*b*) swayed by second-hand calumny, not guided by personal knowledge, in estimating the position of affairs.

In other words, we are here representing the army in the field and deciding on our own fate with first-hand knowledge: at Athens the Assembly, representing the whole state [disappointed and angry], will be a court which, with second-hand knowledge only, will judge us, not itself.

In my view *οὐ τοὺς αὐτοὺς* marks the difference of the two judging bodies, *περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν* the difference in the relation of the judging and the judged in the two cases, and *ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτοὶ* the difference between the two judging bodies in respect of the means of forming a sound judgment on the question.

Thus I analyse the sentence

οὐ τοὺς αὐτοὺς { (*a*) *ψηφιεῖσθαι περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν* [*ψηφιζομένους*] (*ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτοὶ* [*ψηφιοῦνται*]) *τε* · *καὶ* (*b*) *γνώσεσθαι τὰ πράγματα* [*ὄψει καὶ οὐκ ἀκοῇ γιγνώσκοντας*] (*ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτοὶ* [*γιγνώσκουσι*]).

61 § 1 *ὁ μὲν ἀγὼν ὁ μέλλων ὁμοίως κοινὸς ἅπασιν ἔσται, περί τε σωτηρίας καὶ πατρίδος ἑκάστοις οὐχ ἧσσον ἢ τοῖς πολεμίοις.*

Here Stahl would strike out *ἑκάστοις.....πολεμίοις* as a gloss on the *ὁμοίως ἅπασιν* above, and Classen follows him. Hude after van Herwerden keeps *ἑκάστοις* and throws out the

rest. The most serious objection seems to be that of Classen who says that in a speech addressed to an Athenian army it is quite out of place to refer to their being on an equality with the enemy in respect of danger. But why? When Nikias is addressing his men before the first battle, when all looked well for their cause, Thucydides VI 68 § 3 makes him refer to the probable exhortations of the enemy. They, he says, will call on their men to fight *περὶ πατρίδος*, but I call on you to fight in a land which is not your own country (*οὐκ ἐν πατρίδι*), a land from which you will not find it easy to retreat if you do not win the day. Surely the general who could suggest the risks of failure at such a moment, when contrasting their own feelings with those of the enemy, is only true to himself in the traditional text of the present passage.

The *ἑκάστοις*, I take it, goes with *πατρίδος* alone. No such addition gives any particular force to *σωτηρίας*. But with *πατρίδος* it comes in as an afterthought, suggested by the motley composition of Nikias' armament. Reference to VI 68 § 2, 69 § 3, and the contents of VII 63—4, will I think abundantly support this view.

I believe therefore that the text is perfectly sound, and that *τῳ* and *που* in the next sentence catch up the point of *ἑκάστοις* in this.

67 § 4 *ἐς ἀπόνοιαν καθεστήκασιν, οὐ παρασκευῆς πίστει μᾶλλον ἢ τύχης ἀποκινδυνεύσει οὕτως ὅπως δύνανται, ἵν' ἢ βιασάμενοι ἐκπλεύσωσιν....*

Duker's emendation *ἀποκινδυνεῦσαι* is accepted by Classen and Hude. Whether wisely, I doubt. It is true that *οὕτως ὅπως δύνανται* goes more conveniently with the verb, but that Thucydides could not have put it after the substantive is to me far from certain: indeed I conceive it to be quite possible.

And to me *τύχης ἀποκινδυνεύσει* seems a most powerful and Thucydidean antithesis to *παρασκευῆς πίστει*. 'Not trusting in their armament—that is not what ails them—but ready to hazard their luck any way they can.' Is not this a lifelike picture of desperate men?

True, *ἀποκινδύνευσις* is a very rare word, perhaps unique.

But Thucydides, if not rewritten, supplies many, particularly of these verbal substantives. On some of them the critic lays a heavy hand; as *θάρσησις* in VII 49 § 1, intelligible though it be. *διαπολέμησις* VII 42 § 5 is another, and indeed they abound. I hold that we ought not to throw them out without very good reasons, which in the present case I do not find.

If however we do adopt *ἀποκινδυνεῦσαι* here, *τύχης* will have to depend on *πίστει*. Classen then renders 'relying rather on fortune than on their forces.' Now I admit that such an antithesis is possible, though hardly a strong one in this particular context. For why should they rely rather on fortune? For some time past the luck had gone against them. And just below the speaker adds *ὡς τῶν γε παρόντων οὐκ ἂν πράξαντες χεῖρον*. Surely such luck as this is more naturally attached to the word of hazard than to that of confidence. I would then render, not 'das Glück' with Classen, but 'their luck' and refer to the words below, 68 § 1 *τύχην ἀνδρῶν ἑαυτὴν παραδεδωκυῖαν πολεμιωτάτων*, as an illustration. Then, if *τύχης* is to go with *πίστει*, I should take *μᾶλλον* not with *ἢ* but as expressing the difference between a frantic despair and a confidence however grounded. 'They are come to such a pitch of desperation, having lost confidence in both their armament and their fortune, that they are bent to risk their all any way they can.' But I think this much worse than the meaning I get out of the traditional text.

71 § 2 *καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀνώμαλον καὶ <διότι> τὴν ἔποψιν τῆς ναυμαχίας ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἠναγκάζοντο ἔχειν.*

It can do no harm to add one more to the long list of conjectures that have been hazarded on this well-known passage, in which it is generally admitted that there is some defect. Hude, who collects the conjectures, himself suggests *διότι* for *διὰ τὸ*, but is content with marking a lacuna after *διὰ τὸ* in his text.

If we are to attempt to heal the passage, we must surely try to make it harmonize with the context. I can best indicate how I keep this object in view by translating the passage with context.

'For, as the Athenians had their very all staked upon their ships, their anxiety about the issue was beyond compare, *and for two reasons. The fortune of the battle on the water was varying, and their prospect of it had unavoidably to be gained from the shore.* For, as their view of it was a near one and they did not all regard the same part of it at the same moment,' [they were elated or depressed according to the nature of what they saw].

Thus *καὶ.....καὶ* will set forth the two circumstances that placed the Athenian spectators of this particular battle in a position of peculiar distress. The distinction between the two is maintained and expanded in the following sentence. The difficulty is that the first *καὶ* seems also to answer the *τε* in *ὅ τε φόβος*... etc preceding. But of this I am not sure.

78 § 2 *τὸ δὲ ἐχώρει ἐν πλαισίῳ τεταγμένον, πρῶτον μὲν ἡγούμενον τὸ Νικίου, ἐφεπόμενον δὲ τὸ Δημοσθένους· τοὺς δὲ σκευοφόρους καὶ τὸν πλεῖστον ὄχλον ἐντὸς εἶχον οἱ ὁπλῖται.*

The word *στράτευμα*, to which this refers, has just preceded. To me it seems as clear as daylight that from the start the army marched in two separate divisions. And so Poppo and Holm [II p 63] take it. Later on (81 § 3) we find them as *τὸ μὲν Νικίου στράτευμα.....τὸ δὲ Δημοσθένους*. Freeman however [III p 373] says 'They marched in the shape of a hollow oblong.....Nikias led the van, while Demosthenes commanded the rear.' The difficulties connected with this supposition are manifest, and he is soon driven [p 381] to speak of 'the original square' and 'the division of Demosthenes.' The great historian was clearly led into what I regard as sad confusion by his unfavourable view of textual criticism (III preface). He says 'the text, as we have it, is our evidence' and so forth. But it escaped him that 'the text as we have it' does not give *πλαισίῳ* at all, but *διπλασίῳ*. The former word has been 'restored' by editors from the Vatican MS (B) only. I believe that the scribe who wrote that MS was a more learned copyist than the writers of the other MSS of the best class: many indications seem to point that way, as a study of the various readings in Hude will show. He, like editors, would prefer what he seemed to under-

stand to that which he thought unintelligible. But such readings need strict examination. This able scribe often preserves what is missed by others; thus here we owe to him the words *πρῶτον μὲν ἡγούμενον*, surely genuine.

But wherever I find the expression *ἐν πλαισίῳ* it means 'in a hollow rectangular formation,' not in two such formations. I need only refer to Thuc VI 67 § 1, Xen anab III 4 §§ 19—22, Arrian IV 5 § 6. The last two passages deal with a *πλαίσιον ἰσόπλευρον*, and that in Xenophon is I believe the *locus classicus* on the subject. The formation was only it seems resorted to in great straits, such as a retreat, and it did not answer its purpose on broken ground.

The account of Diodorus (XIII 18) is, as might be expected, a most unsatisfactory one. He says *οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοὶ διελόμενοι τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰς δύο μέρη, καὶ τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα καὶ τοὺς ἀρρώστους εἰς μέσον λαβόντες, τοὺς δὲ δυναμένους μάχεσθαι προηγεῖσθαι καὶ οὐραγεῖν τάξαντες, προῆγεσαν ἐπὶ Κατάνης, ὧν μὲν Δημοσθένους ὧν δὲ Νικίου καθηγουμένων.* Thus we get the fighting men divided, the non-combatants in one mass. No protection for the flanks of the latter is hinted at, which, when we read in Thucydides of the constant flank attacks of the enemy's dartmen and horse, is inconceivable. The army is not really divided at all: there is a vanguard and a rearguard, of course. And Diodorus dismisses the whole story of the retreat in about 20 lines of a Teubner text.

Haacke then was right in refusing to defend *διπλασίῳ* in Thucydides by the *δύο μέρη* of Diodorus. He remarked however that the division of the army is implied in the passage of Thucydides. On which Poppo observes *utrumque igitur agmen πλαίσιον fecit.*

If *ἐν διπλασίῳ* cannot mean 'in a double formation,'—and I doubt it very much—is it possible that a rare and unfamiliar word may have misled copyists, and that Thucydides may have written *ἐν διπλαισίῳ* = 'in a formation of two hollow rectangles'? That this is what the formation was, I have no doubt. We thus get clearly expressed in the sentence (*a*) the army spoken of as a whole but (*b*) broken up into two distinct parts. One must feel timid in making a suggestion like this. But I

find in Liddell and Scott *δίδραχμον*, *διέδριον*, *δίθυρσον*, *δίκρανον*, *δίπλεθρον*, *δίπυλον*, and so forth: mostly on the authority of late writers, it is true. A friend also informs me that *διστάδιον* is given in Etym Magn p 170, and, if the text be sound, *διπαλαιστιαῖον* in Geopon IX 10. But there are many words in Thucydides for which we have no other authority till much later. And these words do not seem to have a specially late flavour, while they do seem to give that combination of the two notions of unity and duality which our present passage requires.

W E HEITLAND.

HOMER'S SIMILES.

A GREAT deal has been talked lately about the difference between the manners and customs of Homeric heroes and of the Ionians. The former, as the Constable of France says of the English—"give them great meals of beef and iron and steel, they will eat like wolves and fight like devils." The latter preferred fish, were not nearly so much given to fighting, followed after merchandise and the sea. And critics go on to say that it is beyond nature that Ionian poets should have kept up an archaic state of things in their poems; they would have made anachronisms; Attic tragedy for instance is full of anachronisms.

Now before coming to my main subject I should like to make some preliminary observations on this. Homer could not get on without anachronisms, you say. And why not? It would require no very great skill in a poet to continue the tradition of the so-called "Achaean" way of life, when he himself lived under the Ionian régime. A man would need to be ingenious indeed to compose an *Iliad* without fighting, and for butcher's meat Aristarchus truly observed that the poet knows boiled meat though the heroes only eat roast, so that it seems that Homer did consciously archaise in this. In truth there are two assumptions underlying all this; the first that Homer was after all something of a fool and could not do what has been done by a score of people since without much thought or trouble, that he could not paint an ancient state of society well enough to deceive people like ourselves who know nothing about it except what he chooses to tell us, and the second that we *do* know so much about it that we are in a position to say

there are no anachronisms. Good heavens, how do we know that there are not dozens of them? Suppose that what we had instead of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were the tragedies of Aeschylus and Sophocles, that we knew nothing about their authorship or their date or the society in which they were composed except what we could gather from the works themselves, but that they stood out like mountain peaks *οἷω ἀπ' ἄλλων*, just as the two epics do now:—well, we should look at them and say in our wisdom: "The heroes knew the palaestra, they knew the Olympian games, they knew this and that and the other; we find no anachronisms here." No more we should, but they would be there for all that, and we could not find them out by rooting in ten thousand bee-hive tombs. Or we might apply that other argument to tragedy and say: "The position of women here is not that of Attic life, therefore these poems were not composed at Athens. The heroes fight at Troy for ten years without any communication with Greece, which is absurd in the age of Pericles; therefore these poems must be much older than that time." And one might spin out a long proof in this way with great profit, and it would be hailed as a great discovery and be put in the history books.

Now suppose one wants to know under what conditions an epic was composed, from what part of it is he likeliest to get a hint? The scientific procedure is clearly to go to what we do know about and argue from that to the unknown, and as the epic every Englishman knows best is *Paradise Lost* let us see what can be made of that. It is clear enough then that Milton knew nothing accurate or exact about Hell and Heaven, Chaos and Limbo, nor yet about the mount of Paradise. Nor had he any personal acquaintance with the characters of the poem, or the state of society in which they lived. We should hardly do well to assume that Milton's contemporaries were vegetarians and wore no clothes. No, the parts of the poem which do really correspond to the world in which Milton lived are the similes, and certain personal passages such as the two glorious preludes to the third and ninth books. As there are no personal allusions to the poet's self in Homer, we will confine ourselves to the similes. A great many even of these,

I admit at once, are not directly in touch with the poet; some are also only copied, but then so may some of Homer's be. The fleet that stems nightly towards the pole from Ternate or Tidore does not represent Milton's own experience, though it might represent that of Camoens: the simile of the aborigines discovered by Columbus is far from the poet's actual world, but how much nearer does it bring it to us than Adam and Eve do! But what a quantity we hear about Milton's own environment, and his own times! Vallombrosa he had seen and Galileo; that "populous city Where stenches foul and sewers annoy the air" is surely London, the London of Macaulay's introduction to his history. Pioneers going before an army, the mast of some great ammiral, the bees, the labourer returning at eve by the marish—I quote from memory and at random, but any one who pleases can pursue the subject further—these things clearly shew us more of the Miltonic civilization than can be got from all the rest of the epic put together.

I am far from saying that this applies with exactly equal cogency to Homer. He was describing a state of things nothing like so remote as Milton was. But still it seems probable that the similes will throw more light upon his circumstances than anything else will do. And his similes cannot well be so remote from him as Milton's similes are from Milton; he cannot draw them from Pharaoh and the Red Sea, from very ancient times or very distant latitudes; he must have taken them from what was ready to his hand, though he also does draw similes from what he certainly had no personal experience of, from mythology. Still on the whole we may confidently say that his similes are in more direct relation to him than Milton's were to Milton, and so may be more safely quoted for his actual experience.

Long ago Aristarchus shrewdly observed the use of the trumpet, of boiled meat and of riding horses in similes, as differing from the heroic habit. Robert Wood elicited from a simile (I 5) the conclusion that the poet composed on the coast of Asia Minor, a conclusion which though disputed by some seems to me to hold good, for no man in his senses would speak of the *north-west* wind *from Thrace* heaping up the seaweed

on the shore unless he meant the shore of Asia Minor. And the only conclusive proof of the date of Quintus Smyrnaeus that can be drawn from the matter of his poem, comes from a simile (vi. 532).

Similes of the Odyssey. It is hardly necessary to refer to δ 45, η 84, to prove that the poet was acquainted with the brilliance of the sun and moon, and in general I shall content myself with those similes which seem of some importance. Though the lion cuts a poor figure in the *Odyssey* as compared with the *Iliad*, he still has his share; he catches fawns left in his lair (δ 335 = ρ 126), he μερμηρίζει among the hunters (δ 791), goes forth to prey in bad weather (ζ 130). Polyphemus eats "like a mountain lion" (ι 292), Odysseus is smeared with blood like a lion after feeding (χ 402). Cattle are prominent; there is the charming simile of the calves greeting their mothers returning from pasture (κ 410), the bull feeding in a meadow (φ 48), the kine driven by the gadfly (χ 299), Agamemnon is killed like βοῦς ἐπὶ φάτνῃ (λ 411). The last is the only mention of beef for food in a simile; along with it go the swine killed for a great feast in the house of a rich man (λ 413). But if little is said of meat, we hear plenty about fish. The Laestrygons spear men like fish (κ 124), a man fishes with a rod and ground-bait (μ 251), fish are drawn ashore in a net (χ 384). Then there is the cuttle-fish dragged out from the rock (ε 432), and the diver (μ 413) who probably dives for shell-fish to judge from Π 747. Thus there are five distinct ways of getting fish of some sort, and fish appears to be a far more important article of food than meat.

Again, in the picture of an ideally happy community, the earth bears corn, trees are heavy with fruit, flocks bring forth without fail, and the sea giveth fish. Quite an Aristophanic picture (τ 111—113). Then we hear of κίχλαι and πέλειαι caught in a snare (χ 468), onions (τ 233), and a haggis (υ 25). All this is just the very fare so familiar in Attic comedy.

If there is anything in my contention about the value of similes, the poet of the *Odyssey* fed like an Ionian, not like a Homeric hero. All this fishing suggests that we should go on to the sea and ships. The raft of Odysseus is as big as the

hull of a merchant vessel (ε 249), there is the mast *νηὸς ἐϝεικοσόροιο* (ι 322), men bore a hole in ship timber by an elaborate process (ι 384), Odysseus sets up the axes *δρυόχους ὥς* (τ 574), lastly shipwrecked sailors escape to land in perhaps the most vivid simile of the whole great epic of the sea (ψ 233). But of war there is only one mention, the sack of a city and the woman carried into captivity (θ 523). There is the lid on the quiver of ι 314, but it does not appear whether this is connected with war or fowling or what. The king who appears once in a simile (τ 109) judges with righteous judgment, but does not hanker after war; he is another Alcinous. This king is not by any means necessarily an anachronism or archaism; the Ionian colonies may well enough have been still governed by kings in Homer's time, and a king would be just the man to encourage epic poetry; if there were only one or two of them left, it would be to their courts that the minstrel would resort. Anyhow *this* king is not in a simile of Homer's own, but in one which is in the mouth of Odysseus.

Other arts besides that of the dockyard are the dipping of iron (ι 391), stretching string on lyre (φ 406), and metal work in gold and silver (ψ 159); of these the first looks like another anachronism. Ploughing is spoken of with a yoke of mules (θ 124) or oxen (ν 31). Riding on horseback (ε 371), and the four-horse chariot on the plain (ν 81), are both anachronisms (see Leaf on Θ 185, Λ 699). No other simile throws any light on civilization, unless it be the man who judges all day the quarrels *δικαζομένων αἰζηῶν* (μ 439), and that other who keeps a seed of fire in the wild (ε 488).

One can see now pretty well what manner of life it was with which the poet of the *Odyssey* was *probably* most familiar. A people practising the arts of peace, agricultural and seafaring, keeping flocks and herds, living on much the same food as the Athenians did later, troubled more by wild beasts than war, such is the picture presented to us by the safest authority to which we can appeal.

And where did they live? Nothing very definite can be got out of the similes to answer this question. Still one may gather that it was probably in a plain country by the sea with

mountains near at hand. The four-horse chariot naturally is in a plain for it would not go anywhere else, but then there is the thistle-down in a plain (ε 328), and what distinctly gives this impression is the simile of the *αἰγυπιοὶ* of χ 302, *ἐξ ὀρέων ἐλθόντες ἐπ' ὀρνίθεσσι—· ταὶ μέν τ' ἐν πεδίῳ νέφεα πτώσσουσαι ἵενται.* Then the *λέων ὀρεσίτροφος* of ζ 130 seems to be coming down probably to attack the kine. The epithet *ὀρεσίτροφος* here and in ι 292, together with the scenery of δ 335 = ρ 126, suggests that the lion had been by this time driven up into the mountains. The splendid likening of the Cyclops *ῥίῳ ὑλήεντι ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων, ὅ τε φαίνεται οἷον ἀπ' ἄλλων*, which beats Wordsworth on his own ground, conveying by some mysterious touch a sense of awful grandeur, strikes me as the phrase of a dweller in a plain, looking at the mountains from some little distance. Upon these mountains the snow is shed by the north-west wind (*Ζέφυρος*, τ 206); does this point to Asia Minor?

There is a peculiar group of mythological similes, Artemis hunting on the mountains, Taygetus or Erymanthus (ζ 102), Cytherea anointing herself when she enters the dance of the Charites (σ 193), the nightingale, daughter of Pandareus, wailing over her son Itylus, whom she slew, the son of Zethus (τ 518), and a very long and elaborate simile about the daughters of Pandareus, the harpies, Hera, Artemis, Athena and Aphrodite (υ 66). Not unlike these is the comparison of Nausicaa to a palm tree at Delos (ζ 162). It would clearly be absurd to draw any inferences from them; they are like Milton's Pharaoh and Columbus. What is remarkable about them is the advance they shew upon the *Iliad*; the poet goes further afield for illustrations.

Similes of the Iliad. In the Odyssean region of the *Iliad* we find some of the same features as have been noted in the *Odyssey*. Fishing reappears in the celebrated simile of Ω 77—82, and Euryalus leaps like a fish in Ψ 692. We have the simile insisted on by Wood as proof that the poet was on the coast of Asia Minor (I 4). Agamemnon weeps like a spring flowing down a rock's face (I 14). His cares are like lightning before a storm (K 5). Dogs keep watch round a fold in fear of

a wild beast hunted in the mountains (K 183), and Diomede and Odysseus pursue Dolon as two hounds a fawn or hare (K 360). Achilles weeps as a father for his son (Ψ 222), Antilochus passes Menelaus in the chariot race as far as a quoit-throw (Ψ 431), Menelaus is as near behind him as a chariot wheel to the horse on a plain (Ψ 517). There is an obscure simile about the dew on the ears of corn (Ψ 598). Wrestlers are like the rafters of a house (Ψ 712), implying a gable roof. The next is a woman *πηνίον ἐξέλκουσα παρὲκ μίτον* (Ψ 762). Polypoetes throws as far as a herdsman throws his crook among the kine (Ψ 845). Achilles is cruel as a lion attacking a flock (Ω 41). Priam appears before him as a man-slayer who seeks refuge with a great man in a strange land (Ω 480).

Thus the same peaceful and pastoral state of things is here again depicted.

In the pre-Odyssean region we again find manifest tokens of Asia Minor. The birds in the Asian meadow by Cayster are the only instance of a simile absolutely localized (B 459), but the Icarian sea (B 144) is almost equally definite. Besides this the surf is driven against the rocks by Νότος (B 394), the wind which brings mist on the mountains (Γ 10) and clouds (Λ 306). If Νότος is the south-west wind, this denotes a coast looking on the whole westward rather than eastward. Still clearer are the indications given by Ζέφυρος, the north-west wind. The goat-herd looking over the sea notices the storm coming up before Ζέφυρος (Δ 275), it is Ζέφυρος that drives the waves upon the shore (Δ 422), and raises a *φρίξ* on the sea when it first rises (H 63). Cp. Λ 305—7, a passage not conclusive by itself. Βορέας is substituted for Ζέφυρος in Ξ 395.

There is not a word to be found in the similes that suggests a view over the sea to the east, and so the coast of Anatolia is more probable than any of the islands.

The sea is perpetually recurring, and so are rivers, either running into one another (as Δ 452) or into the sea (as Λ 495). A spring trickles down a rock (Π 2), a passage perhaps present to the mind of the author of I 14. Ships also are common enough; a ship is swamped by the waves in O 281 and again in O 624; a shipwright appears in O 410, ship timber is cut

with axes (Γ 60, N 389). Wood cutting is also mentioned in Δ 482 (for a chariot-wheel), N 178, Π 482, 633. Thus of ships we have five instances, but of war? Hardly more than in the *Odyssey*! There is of course the astoundingly magnificent passage concerning the city besieged upon an island, sending up a cloud and pillar of fire as signal for help, in Σ 207, the trumpet in the same passage, and a javelin thrown in war (Π 591). But the javelin shews quaintly that the poet thought more of other things; the simile runs thus: "as a javelin thrown *in a game* ἠὲ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ"; the war is added as an afterthought with a sort of apologetic air as if to say: "I suppose I am expected to be martial, but I don't care about it."

Still one can hardly read the *Iliad* and believe that the poet had no acquaintance with war. It was only natural for him to leave it out of his similes as he had such a monstrous deal of it in the rest of his work. But then we should expect on the contrary to find similes from war in the *Odyssey*—and we do not. A poet is an uncertain quantity and one never knows what to make of him from his works. Take such poets as we do know to have been fighters and compare them with others whom we know not to have been so. Compare Camoens and Garcilaso with Scott and Macaulay, and find out from their works which of them had smelt powder. Why, the two latter obviously. "Vous vous êtes lourdement trompé, mon ami," as Balzac said of a very different case, and the German critic who concluded that Homer must have been an army surgeon may have been mistaken after all.

The most striking features of the similes of the *Iliad* are the wild beasts and the weather. The lion appears in 26, the boar in 10, to say nothing of leopards, wolves, jackals, grasshoppers, bees, wasps, flies, snakes, and innumerable birds. That all these animals are drawn from actual observation can hardly be questioned; a remarkable proof of this is the way in which the leopard is spoken of in Φ 573—580, where a fury is ascribed to it which is never ascribed to the lion, and which as a matter of fact is characteristic of it. The evidence of the similes would lead us to conjecture that wild beasts had

become much less numerous and formidable in the interval between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*; the lion has been driven up to the mountains, boar and leopard have disappeared. Indeed the lion himself shews no such tokens of close study in the *Odyssey*, where he looks to me not unlike a traditional ornament of epic verse.

The splendid similes drawn from atmospheric effects, cloud and mountain, lightning and rainbow, wind and storm, Sirius flaming like Achilles and Hesperus the fairest star in heaven, the snow at one time falling in "dilatate falde"[1] at another driven by violent wind, form such a gallery of landscape as all the other poets of all ages put together cannot match for an instant. It is small wonder that Mr Green's study of the similes left him more than ever "a believer in one great poet Homer."

But however that may be, they shew nothing except that the poet was familiar with mountain scenery; that the mountains were in Thessaly, as Professor Geddes wishes to make out, rather than in Asia does not appear capable of proof, either for Grote's *Achilleid* with which Geddes was dealing, or for the rest of the poem. He has called attention to the frequent similes from fire, especially fire among the forests (B 455, Λ 155, Ξ 396, O 605, Υ 490); a city is twice burnt with fire (P 737, Φ 522) and locusts flee before it over a plain (Φ 12)[2].

[1] This simile, M 278—287, gives a vivid picture of the scenery in which the poet lived:

ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων κορυφὰς καὶ πρώονας ἄκρους
καὶ πεδία λωτεῦντα καὶ ἀνδρῶν πίονα ῥέργα·
καί τ' ἐφ' ἁλὸς πολιῆς κέχυται λιμέσιν τε καὶ ἀκτῇ.

[2] The other two points on which Geddes principally relies are "the prominence given to the horse and the presence of Mount Olympus as the dominant feature of the landscape." (I quote from Prof. Jebb's *Introduction* II. 5.) It will be time to consider the horse seriously when it is shewn that an Ionian poet could not be "horsey"; Mount Olympus may well be a bit of tradition. Troy is a dominant feature too.

The fifth book does not form part of the *Achilleid* on any theory, yet one of the sublimest cloud and mountain similes is to be found in it (522); for atmospheric effects equally wonderful compare 770 and 864. Thus I cannot see any evidence whatever for the Thessalian origin in this alleged feature of the *Achilleid* unless we are to extend the term *Achilleid* to include E!

To come to food, we have boiled pork (Φ 362), whereas the heroes only eat it roast, milk curdled with fig-juice (E 902), corn often, in particular barley and wheat (Λ 67), peas and beans (N 588), olives (P 53, where an olive is carefully reared "in a lonely place" or "plot," surely for food; we gather further that it is planted in a *βόθρος*), *φυτὰ* (Φ 528, probably vegetables), fish (Π 406). Cattle, goats, sheep are mentioned several times, but nothing is said of their being a principal article of food. It is from a simile only that we learn directly that the Greeks were then acquainted with the domestic ass, an animal known to the Egyptians long before the horse, though mules of course imply it. Oxen are used for ploughing (N 703), a bull is sacrificed to Posidon (Υ 403), and his hide is tanned (P 389). Again we find that the best evidence to be had points to an Ionian, not an Achaean, diet.

Riding in a very advanced form meets us at O 679, chariot races at X 22, 162, the potter's wheel at Σ 599, staining ivory with crimson at Δ 141. I do not think there are any more similes of importance for the present enquiry, but it is worth observing as a proof of their value that if we had not already known that the sea was "the tideless dolorous midland sea," as Mr Swinburne sings, we might have inferred it from O 362, where a child knocks down his own sand-castle instead of letting the sea come up and do it for him. The simile of O 80 is noticeable as the first, and in Homer the only, "imagery drawn from the operations of the human mind," which Shelley oddly declares to be habitual in the Greek poets. Zeus, Ares, Posidon at B 478, Ares and his attendants at N 298, come nearest to the peculiarly Odyssean use of mythological similes and may be regarded as the first stage of them.

The extension of the Aristarchean observations on the simile thus appears to be of great use, and confirms very remarkably the old view that Homer is thoroughly Ionic. That the old stories came from European Greece can hardly be doubted, that the treatment of them and their elevation into Epic is due to Ionians and Ionians alone seems to me equally undeniable. I conclude by saying then that:

I. Homer does consciously archaise to an extent far greater than Aristarchus observed:

II. The civilisation of the Homeric poets is not Achaean but Ionian in every particular.

ARTHUR PLATT.

THE SLAYING OF THE SUITORS.

Professor Jebb's account of the slaying of the suitors in χ is so far the most reasonable and intelligible of any with which I am acquainted that I adopt it fully in most respects. (See *The Homeric House in relation to the Remains at Tiryns* in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* for April 1886.) But there are some small details on which I venture to differ, and which I should like to try to clear up.

That Odysseus shot the suitors from the lower end of the hall, the οὐδὸς upon which he leapt being the μείλινος οὐδὸς over which one went into the hall from the αὐλή, is certain. The question is: How and when did he get there? The suitors were at the other end, by the λάϊνος οὐδός, where they were trying to make the bow more pliant by the aid of the fire. Now it is assumed that Odysseus shot the arrow through the axe-heads from *that* end. If then he afterwards shot the suitors from the other end, he must have gone down the whole length of the hall first, without Homer's saying a word about it (W. Watkiss Lloyd).

Professor Jebb ingeniously attempts to get over this objection by arguing that Homer has "indicated the movement without mentioning it, and that too in a highly dramatic manner." I have learnt from the admirers of Wagner's music to call anything inartistic "dramatic," and with all respect to Professor Jebb I cannot but think that this is the case here also. The argument is that the *words* of Odysseus indicate his *action*. He is supposed to say in effect to Telemachus: "Sir, I have now justified your courtesy to a humble guest; and, having done so, I now leave these lords to their festivities" (φ 424—

430). So saying he is supposed to saunter down the hall to the other end, *still holding the bow and arrows*, no one attempting to stop him. Apart from the difficulties evident on the surface, is this an artistic way of describing his action in epic poetry, and that for the greatest artist therein known among men? Suppose a dramatic poet treating the subject. *He* by the limitations of his art could only put down the words used by Odysseus, he could not describe his action, except in a stage direction. But Homer was not a dramatic but a narrative poet. His business is to describe the action, and if that action ever took place he did describe it. And it is just possible that the description has been lost. But I do not believe it and I trow no one else would believe it if I did.

In spite therefore of the ingenuity of Professor Jebb's explanation I feel compelled to reject it. Odysseus did not traverse the length of the hall amid so many foes unhindered, but he did shoot the suitors from the lower end, and therefore he was at the lower end to begin with.

Objections arise at once. Telemachus had set Odysseus, *κέρδεα νωμῶν*, at the *upper* end of the hall *παρὰ λάϊνον οὐδόν, δίφρον ἀρειικέλιον παραθείς* (*υ* 257). After Odysseus has left the house to reveal himself to Eumaeus and Philoetius, he returns and *ἕζετ' ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ δίφρον ἰών, ἔνθεν περ ἀνέστη*, and from this seat it is that he shoots through the axe-heads (*φ* 243, 420). Therefore he was at the *upper* end of the hall. Well, it all depends on the value to be attached to the words *κέρδεα νωμῶν* and *ἔνθεν περ ἀνέστη*. With regard to the first, it must be observed that no one has the faintest idea what the precise purpose of Telemachus in setting Odysseus by the *λάϊνος οὐδός* was. "Not that he might more easily obtain the bow," says Jebb, "for the trial with the bow only occurs to Penelope's mind at the beginning of book xxi; and the scheme originally concerted between father and son was that, in removing the other arms from the hall, Telemachus should leave weapons for their own use. The 'crafty design' must then have been simply that Odysseus might be better able to see that the door of the women's apartments was closed, and might be near his son when the moment should arrive for giving the signal."

Such an explanation shews clearly that Professor Jebb, like all the rest of us, is at his wits' end to know what Telemachus would be at. For Odysseus could not see any better at one end of the hall than the other, inasmuch as the doors must have been fastened upon the other side and were not transparent, and if the question is merely of their not standing wide open, he could see *that* without being at the λάϊνος οὐδός. And instead of being near his son when the slaying begins (I do not know of any previous signal[1]), he is at the opposite end of the hall[2]. Though it is not correct to say that Penelope never thought of the trial of the bow till the beginning of φ (for she had told Odysseus of it the night before, τ 572), Professor Jebb is plainly right in saying that κέρδεα νωμῶν cannot refer to Odysseus' getting hold of the bow, for Telemachus knew nothing about it. And even if we suppose he did, still the position of Odysseus did *not* help him, for Eumaeus has to carry the bow ἀνὰ δῶμα to give it him, of which more anon.

I repeat then that no one has the faintest idea what κέρδεα νωμῶν means, and I believe the reason is that it does not mean a quarter of what people try to get out of it. The phrase is found once again, and the wisest plan will be to compare the other passage, σ 215:

> Τηλέμαχ', οὐκέτι τοι φρένες ἔμπεδοι οὐδὲ νόημα·
> παῖς ἔτ' ἐὼν καὶ μᾶλλον ἐνὶ φρεσὶ κέρδε' ἐνώμας.

Here κέρδεα νωμᾶν has no reference to craft or deep-laid designs; it means purely and simply *to be sensible.* And presumably that is what it means in υ 257. Telemachus set Odysseus by the stone οὐδὸς because he was πεπνυμένος; it was merely a mark of honour to his father. This becomes almost a certainty when we observe why Penelope accuses Telemachus of being less sensible now than when he was a child. It is because he has allowed τὸν ξεῖνον ἀρεικισθήμεναι οὕτω

[1] ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσεν, φ 431. This is after shooting through the axe-heads and at the very moment of leaping on the great threshold. Even on Jebb's view, it is *after* he has gone down the hall; therefore his supposed position at the other end does *not* help him when it comes to giving the signal.

[2] Reading κεκορυθμένον in φ 434.

(σ 222). One can imagine Telemachus saying to himself: "Ah my dear mother, you may see I can κέρδεα νωμᾶν as well as another; I have put τὸν ξεῖνον in a place of honour." So again it is said of Penelope that she κέρδεα ϝοῖδεν (β 88), only meaning that she is very wise.

Now for ἔνθεν περ ἀνέστη. *O bone Homere* (or hear'st thou rather *gnaue*?), dost thou nod or is it I that dream? I will brazen it out: ἔνθεν περ ἀνέστη is an epic tag, which means really and truly nothing at all. Six times is it found in the *Odyssey* used with no force whatever, except what force the critics have discovered here. It has just as much and just as little meaning as Milton's "from the center thrice to the utmost pole" which appears on a sober consideration of the cosmography of *Paradise Lost* to be a ludicrously inadequate statement, or the shield of Ajax in the *Iliad* which would have served as carapace for the most monstrous of extinct tortoises. That shield is round—an epic phrase with no meaning; it is six feet long—ditto. Then why insist on ἔνθεν περ ἀνέστη when to do so involves us in all the difficulties already mentioned, and another which has escaped notice but is worse than all? For though the critics look upon Eumaeus carrying the bow ἀνὰ δῶμα with singular equanimity, yet surely that phrase is a great deal harder to get over than ἔνθεν περ ἀνέστη[1].

It is a surprising thing that ἀνὰ δῶμα or δώματα is only to be found thrice in the *Odyssey*. The first passage (ι 7) throws no light upon it; ἀνὰ is there used, under stress of verse, for κατά. The other two are φ 234, 378, both of the swineherd carrying the bow to Odysseus. Now ἀνὰ δῶμα can only mean *up* the hall, and that might signify from the μείλινος οὐδὸς to the λάϊνος or *vice versa*, but by no possibility could it mean *across* the hall. Yet if the universally accepted theory be right,

[1] There is a seventh instance. Odysseus follows Calypso to her cave and sits

ἐπὶ θρόνου ἔνθεν ἀνέστη
Ἑρμείας (ε 195).

I have thought for years that this Ἑρμείας looks exceedingly like the addition of a zealous commentator who remembered that Hermes had sat down ἐν θρόνῳ (ε 86) and that there was nothing definite for ἔνθεν ἀνέστη to refer to if applying to Odysseus. But if this surmise be correct, it is impossible to guess how the passage originally ran.

Telemachus and the bow and Odysseus himself were all by the λάϊνος οὐδός together. Consequently the swineherd could only have to carry the bow across the hall, or rather across a small part of it, since the bow is evidently already in the middle[1]. Which is the easier, to suppose that ἔνθεν περ ἀνέστη is an epic tag with no definite meaning (as we know it was from other passages), or that ἀνὰ δῶμα could mean from the middle of the room to the wall on one side, supposing Odysseus to be so far off as the wall?

And the further off you make Odysseus to be, the more unintelligible do the later proceedings appear. The axes are down the middle[2]; the further away Odysseus is to one side, the less can he shoot through the axe-heads while still sitting on his stool. Even he could not shoot round the corner.

If then ἀνὰ δῶμα means *across* the house, the poet not only was ignorant of the finer shades of the Greek language, but he had no clear picture of the scene before his mind, for it involves putting Odysseus in a completely impossible position. As Odysseus shoots, sitting, straight down the central line of the house, it follows that he was on the central line himself[3]. As the bow had previously been near the fire at the upper end and he was not near the bow (for it has to be carried ἀνὰ δῶμα to him), it follows again that when he shot he was at the lower end. Hence we acquire additional support for the statement that he shot the suitors from the lower end, which is admitted, and that he was at that end from the first, which is what I now seek to prove. If the poet had a clear view of what was going on, how can this conclusion be evaded? if he had not, let us hold our peace on the subject for evermore.

[1] Last mentioned at φ 225, where Eurymachus is warming it by the fire. He presumably leans it against the door leading to the women's apartments (φ 137, 165) after he has done with it, and it would be from this door that Eumaeus would take it to carry it to Odysseus.

[2] This is apparently always assumed, and no doubt rightly, but Homer does not say so. It is certain that one end of the line was near the fire-place and the upper end of the hall. Even if we make the unnatural assumption that the line ran sideways, instead of parallel to the walls, we shall be no better able to explain the situation.

[3] Euclid, *Elements*. I have reason to suspect that this treatise is *almost* as little known among us Homerologists as Aristotle's *Organon*.

Still there is another difficulty. Mr Lang points out that ϕ 378—380 shew that Eumaeus after he has given the bow to Odysseus is near the door of the women's apartments. For as soon as Eumaeus has given Odysseus the bow, he calls forth Eurycleia to give her charge to bar the door. Such is certainly the natural inference to draw, but not a necessary inference. Eumaeus has been told by Odysseus to give him the bow, and then to give the directions to Eurycleia; the poet now states very briefly how Eumaeus fulfilled the latter command. It is surely not necessary for him to describe exactly how Eumaeus did it; his movements are not of any great consequence; plainly this is a very different question indeed from that raised by the supposed movement of Odysseus with the bow to the other end of the hall. It appears incomprehensible that the poet should not have distinctly narrated the latter; the former in my judgment might very easily be omitted. Nobody cares where Eumaeus found Eurycleia, but it is a matter of vital importance at which end Odysseus was. Nevertheless I do not wish to minimise unduly the difficulty, which appears to me the most serious I have to contend with.

That the whole problem is very difficult must be admitted. In all the other details I am glad to find myself substantially in accord with Professor Jebb.

To sum up, if Odysseus was as is generally supposed at the upper end to begin with, we have to assume that the most important detail of his passing right down the hall is omitted and can only be read into the text by what I venture to think a most un-epic and violent hypothesis, that he could shoot round the corner, and that *ἀνὰ δῶμα* has a meaning which nobody ever heard of. If, on the contrary, he was at the lower end all through, we have to assume that the very unimportant movement of Eumaeus to find Eurycleia is omitted, that *κέρδεα νωμῶν* means what it means in the only other place where it occurs, and that *ἔνθεν περ ἀνέστη* is an epic tag which means no more than may be expected, especially as a whole book has intervened since the mention of Odysseus' seat by the *λάϊνος οὐδός*. Between the two hypotheses the choice seems to me easy; anyhow, as Plato says, *αἰτία τοῦ ἑλομένου· Ὅμηρος*

ἀναίτιος. For I am loth to believe that he did not realize the scene clearly to himself,—although it is conceivable that he was working upon lays and legends which he did not exactly understand, and that here, as in some other places, he was content to make things only sufficiently definite to sound right to an audience more careful of poetical effects than of scientific correctness.

Professor Housman, who has been kind enough to read over the above and make some suggestions on it, remarks that most of the difficulty would be removed by "writing μείλινον for λάϊνον, violentia intolerabili, at υ 258." Certainly we could then give κέρδεα νωμῶν any force we pleased. If Telemachus purposely set Odysseus so that he might be in a straight line with the axes, it was a stratagem with some point in it. But I am loth to invoke so strong a change if it can be helped, and it still leaves the difficulty of φ 380 untouched. Obviously ἐντὸς ἐϋσταθέος μεγάρου (υ 258) need not mean anything more than "inside the hall" as contrasted with "upon the οὐδὸς" where a beggar naturally sate (e. g. σ 110), and the emphasis that has been laid upon it, as if it by itself implied "at the upper end," is not to be justified for a moment. If we suppose that a rhapsode may have been misled by it in antiquity, we can account for the change from μείλινον to λάϊνον and so soften the "violentia intolerabilis" a good deal. In any case compare the very similar corruption ἔκτοθεν for ἔντοθεν at ι 239, 338.

ARTHUR PLATT.

P.S. The above had been some time in type before I read Reichel's really epoch-making work *über Homerische Waffen* (Wien 1894, Alfred Hölder). I hasten to retract all that I have said here on the shield of Ajax, and substitute for it as illustrations of epic tags the phrase ἐγγὺς ἐόντων (ι 166; compare 117) and the astonishing ἐχεικοστὸν χέτος of Helen's lament over Hector (Ω 765). Other instances of the same sort of thing could easily be collected.

ON A VIRGILIAN IDIOM.

THERE is a well-known idiom not uncommon in Virgil and found also in Propertius by which a verb or noun is repeated after an *et* or *que* instead of a second *et* or *que*; see Conington on *Eclogue* IV. 6:

Iam *redit et* Virgo; *redeunt* Saturnia regna.

Whence did Virgil derive this pretty figure of which he is so fond? From all we know of him it is likely that it was from the Greeks. The fact that it is so much commoner in him than in any other Latin writer points to the probability that it is not a genuine Latin idiom; just as the hendiadys which he carries to such extraordinary lengths was developed from very occasional similar uses in Greek poetry, as Aeschylus's *αἷμα καὶ σταλαγμόν*, and assumes nothing like such proportions in any other Latin poet, so this idiom also looks as if it were taken from some very rare Greek pattern. Very rare, one may well say, for no such pattern has ever been observed in extant Greek literature. Yet one such does exist, and perhaps more than one. The MSS of Sophocles *Antigone* 673 present us practically with the following:

αὕτη πόλεις τ' ὄλλυσιν, ἥδ' ἀναστάτους
οἴκους τίθησιν, ἥδε σὺν μάχῃ δορὸς
τροπὰς καταρρήγνυσι.

This passage has much perplext the editors, who, if they do not call it an anacoluthon, either read *πόλεις τ'—ἠδ'* after Nauck or omit the *τ'*. The former expedient is not convincing in the light of the second *ἥδε* and as *τε—ἠδὲ* is only epic, and the

latter makes it impossible to account for the MS reading, for no explanation of the presence of τ' has been suggested which will hold water. Surely here we have the very idiom required. Instead of repeating the τ' or following with a καὶ as we should naturally expect, Sophocles has repeated the pronoun. The substitution of ἥδε for αὕτη is assuredly no difficulty.

Such a variation of the ordinary grammar appears to suit exactly the style of Sophocles, who was the very man to devise it if it did not anywhere exist before him. And Virgil was the very man to seize upon an idiom of which he may well have known half a dozen or more instances and to use it with much greater freedom. We may safely therefore at once account for it in the Roman poet and defend the solitary example which has survived the ravages of time in Greek.

ARTHUR PLATT.

PLATO *PHILEBUS* 66 B.

In the "order of merit" with which the *Philebus* concludes, *μέτρον μέτριον καίριον* having been placed first, and *σύμμετρον καλόν τέλεον ἱκανόν* second, our text proceeds as follows:

Σ. *Τὸ τοίνυν τρίτον, ὡς ἡ ἐμὴ μαντεία, νοῦν καὶ φρόνησιν τιθεὶς οὐκ ἂν μέγα τι τῆς ἀληθείας παρεξέλθοις.*

Π. *Ἴσως.*

Σ. *Ἆρ' οὖν οὐ τέταρτα, ἃ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῆς ἔθεμεν, ἐπιστήμας τε καὶ τέχνας καὶ δόξας ὀρθὰς λεχθείσας, ταῦτ' εἶναι τὰ πρὸς τοῖς τρισὶ τέταρτα, εἴπερ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἐστὶ μᾶλλον τῆς ἡδονῆς ξυγγενῆ;*

Π. *Τάχ' ἄν.*

That there is something amiss with *Ἆρ' οὖν οὐ τέταρτα κτλ*, is clear: and accordingly Badham brackets the words *οὐ τέταρτα*. "If *τέταρτα* is in its right place here," he says, "it is of no use lower down; but it seems better placed there than here." The correction is not however convincing: for, though we may find in the preceding sentence words with which to complete the sentence in question, there is nothing in the latter to mark its intimate connection with the former.

Now it is notorious that the letters of the alphabet represented numbers both cardinal and ordinal: and in this place, knowing that the word *τέταρτα* must necessarily occur, a scribe might well read *any* δ as *τέταρτα*. I suspect then that *Ἆρ' οὖν οὐ τέταρτα* represents *Ἆρ' οὖν οὐδ'*. In this way we get an intelligible and appropriate sentence. It is indeed elliptical: but the words which are necessary to complete it—*ἂν μέγα τι τῆς ἀληθείας παρεξέλθοις τιθείς*—are ready to hand in Socrates' preceding sentence, and the *οὐδ'* serves to make them available.

HENRY JACKSON.

PLATO *TIMAEUS* 51 B.

ἆρ' ἔστι τι πῦρ αὐτὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ πάντα περὶ ὧν ἀεὶ λέγομεν οὕτως αὐτὰ καθ' αὑτὰ ὄντα ἕκαστα, ἢ ταῦτα ἅπερ καὶ βλέπομεν ὅσα τε ἄλλα διὰ τοῦ σώματος αἰσθανόμεθα μόνα ἐστὶ τοιαύτην ἔχοντα ἀλήθειαν, ἄλλα δὲ οὐκ ἔστι παρὰ ταῦτ' οὐδαμῇ οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλὰ μάτην ἑκάστοτε εἶναί τί φαμεν εἶδος ἑκάστου νοητόν, τὸ δ' οὐδὲν ἄρ' ἦν πλὴν λόγος ;

This question, together with the affirmative answer which is returned to it a few lines further on, is generally considered to establish beyond doubt the proposition that, whatever other ideas Plato may or may not have admitted to the rank of absolute essences, he manifestly did admit ideas of fire and of the other three elements. And to controvert this proposition, in despite not only of all the weight of tradition and authority, but apparently of Plato's explicit statement in the passage before us, may well seem an idle endeavour. Yet so strongly am I persuaded that the ontology of the *Timaeus* allows no room for ideas of the four elements (if in saying Idea of Fire we are to use the word *idea* in the same sense as when we speak of the Idea of Man), that I make bold to present a few considerations on this side of the question.

First let us turn to the statement in 39 E, where Plato tells us how the Artificer set about to complete the assimilation of the *ὁρατὸν ζῷον* or *κόσμος* to the *νοητὸν ζῷον*. He says *ἦπερ οὖν νοῦς ἐνούσας ἰδέας τῷ ὃ ἔστι ζῷον, οἵαί τε ἔνεισι καὶ ὅσαι, καθορᾷ, τοιαύτας καὶ τοσαύτας διενοήθη δεῖν καὶ τόδε σχεῖν.* Now if these words are not intended to indicate a completely exhaustive classification of the *ἰδέαι ἐνοῦσαι τῷ ὃ ἔστι ζῷον*, it is really difficult to conceive what language Plato could have

used to convey such an intention. Then what are these ideas? The answer is *εἰσὶ δὲ τέτταρες· μία μὲν οὐρανίων θεῶν γένος, ἄλλη δὲ πτηνὸν καὶ ἀεροπόρον, τρίτη δὲ ἔνυδρον εἶδος, πεζὸν δὲ καὶ χερσαῖον τέταρτον.* That is to say we get exactly what we have a right to expect: the *ἰδέαι* subordinate to the *νοητὸν ζῷον* are *νοητὰ ζῷα* and nothing else; corresponding to which we have in material nature four genera of animate corporeal beings, under which are ranked all the genera and species of animals existing in the visible universe. And, though immediately afterwards fire is mentioned as the chief constituent in the bodies of one of these genera, there is no hint at any Idea of Fire existing in the *αὐτὸ ὃ ἔστι ζῷον.* Whereupon two reflections inevitably suggest themselves: first, if there are ideas of fire and the rest contained in the supreme idea, it is surely a most amazing omission that we find no word of them in a passage so important and so explicit as that we are now considering: secondly, if the supreme genus is *ζῷον*, as we know it is, how can the subordinate genera and species help being *ζῷα* likewise?

And there are other points worth considering. Leaving out of the question for the present such ideas as *δίκαιον*, *καλόν*, and the like, we observe that in all cases, save those of the four elements, the material particulars representing the ideas are in every class complete organic units; each is, as Aristotle might say, *ὅλον* and *τόδε τι.* But in the case of fire, &c. the idea is represented by a mere aggregate of particles without any intrinsic unity or organisation. Cut a fly in two, and neither half is an *εἰκὼν* of the ideal fly. But pour a quart of water into two pint mugs or into a hundred thimbles, and each portion is as good an *εἰκὼν* of the idea as the Atlantic ocean. This may be met with the reply that the idea of fire is materially represented not by fire in the aggregate, but by the individual pyramids of which fire is constituted. But this seems also unsatisfactory. For first the properties pertaining to fire are displayed not by any separate pyramid, but by an aggregation of them; secondly the idea seems thus to be relegated to the rank of the *μαθηματικά.*

Moreover if we have not only the idea of Horse, but ideas of

the four elements of which a horse's body is composed, one would like to know something about the relation of the Idea of Horse to these four ideas. And if, because the four elements are fixed forms whereby the said body is produced, we are to have ideas of these, it is hard to see on what ground we are to deny ideas of flesh and blood and the other *ὁμοιομερῆ*, nay of legs and neck and heart and what not: for these are equally fixed and essential constituents in the horse's structure. Indeed with a little ingenuity we might show that the horse represents something very like an infinite number of ideas. Aristotle's complaint that the ideas duplicated the sum of things would fall very far short of the reality.

I cannot help feeling that these considerations constitute a reasonable case against ideas of the four elements. For those who do not share this feeling the difficulty which I now have to meet of course does not exist. But any one who should so far agree with me must necessarily ask, even assuming that these points are valid, what then are we to make of *πῦρ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ*? If Plato really tells us in 39 E that all the ideas are *νοητὰ ζῷα*, what does he mean by telling us in 51 B that there exists Fire-in-itself? And even if he did not tell us so, ought there not to be a fixed reality underlying all such fluctuating appearances as are presented to us by our senses?

Now out of this, as out of all other difficulties in Plato, a royal road lies ready made in the *inconstantia Platonis*. But this is a road which may be travelled *λίαν ἁπλῶς*: and a narrower and thornier path is generally preferable where one is to be found. Is it possible *φεύγειν τὴν λεωφόρον* without doing violence to Plato's words?

In some very tentative remarks I formerly made on this subject I tried to circumvent the passage at 51 B by the suggestion that *πῦρ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ* was put for ideal existence generally, and not intended to affirm ideal fire in particular: fire being taken merely because that and the other elements were the immediate subject of discourse. But such an expedient was not of a sort to be satisfactory even to its author: and retracting all that I then said about this passage, I fully and freely accept every word of it as expressing Plato's deliberate

meaning. Only I would say that we ought not to translate πῦρ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ as 'Idea of Fire'—or if we do, not without due warning that we are using the word Idea in a different sense from that in which we speak of the Idea of Horse.

In the course of the same tentative remarks before-mentioned, I asked the question "Is not the evolution of Mind in the form of human minds the same process as the determination of the idea of Man?" And from an affirmative answer to this I drew the inference that "since Mind can only pluralise itself in the form of living beings, it can only determine itself into ideas of ζῷα." I hope by developing this suggestion a little to attempt some sort of solution of the problem before us.

Absolute νοῦς evolves itself into

A. the cosmic soul,

B. (α) astral souls,
(β) souls of man, the inferior animals, and plants.

Each of these evolved souls, seeing that it is differentiated from the absolute νοῦς, must have a body. Therefore along with the evolution of the particular soul goes the evolution of a material body appropriate to that kind of soul.

Now the absolute νοῦς, being infinite, cannot find its externalised expression in any one rank of finite souls—not even in the astral souls, nor in the souls of mankind: but it must have an infinite range of expression through unlimited ranks of soul: i.e. so much of the absolute soul as cannot be adequately externalised in the astral souls and in mankind is externalised in the souls of elephants, eagles, trees, ferns &c. Each of these sets of souls then is the externalisation of so much of the essence of absolute soul as can be so externalised. And the bodies severally appropriate to those sets of souls are the material and sensible representation of that same part or aspect of the absolute essence. The idea then, or fixed reality, behind these sensible representations is so much (if we may so speak) of the absolute soul as can be externalised in that series of souls and sensibly represented in that series of bodies: in other words, the absolute soul considered as capable of being so externalised and so represented.

Thus each material ζῷον is a definite representation of a definite determination of the absolute νοῦς: i.e. of a definite idea. But how can any of the four elements occupy such a place? If there are ideas of the four elements at all, these ideas are not such determinations of the absolute νοῦς as those before-mentioned. That there is an intelligible fixity underlying these elements is not to be denied. But I think the true explanation of the elements is this.

Every finite soul must have a body; and this body must be made of something and formed in some way. And since the body is a definite representation of a definite reality, it must be formed of some determinate material and in some determinate way. This determinate mode of formation is just those four elements applied in a manner varying with each order of souls. They do not in themselves represent an idea but are the means whereby the bodies are composed which do represent ideas. They have fixed realities behind them, because they constitute the unalterable method or law of formation for physical bodies: they are the way in which νοῦς materialises itself. The sum total of all four constitutes the body of the cosmic soul: portions of each in varying ratios constitute the bodies of inferior souls. Given an idea, it must materialise itself by the help of these, but we do not want, and cannot have, an idea of the mode of materialisation.

Thus I conceive that the question which Plato puts in 51 B is this. Is fire the mere fleeting ever-varying phantasm which our senses perceive and nothing more? or is it a definitely determined mode or law (or whatever phrase be thought more appropriate) in which intelligible essences are made apprehensible by our senses? And I believe that in affirming the existence of πῦρ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ, Plato is simply affirming the latter of these two alternatives.

R. D. ARCHER-HIND.

THE ATTIC CIVIL AND SACRED YEARS.

I.

THE most valuable inscriptional evidence that we have on the Attic Calendar in the 5th century B.C. is, as is well known, the accounts of the Treasurers of Athena from 426/5 to 423/2. Its value depends upon two facts: it covers four consecutive years; and a considerable part of it is perfectly preserved. It was edited by Böckh (*Kleine Schriften* VI. p. 89 ff.), who followed and improved upon Rangabé (*Antiqu. Hell.* 116/7, 373), as Kirchhoff (*C. I. A.* I. 273) has followed and improved his suggestions.

This document[1] is a record of payments by the *ταμίαι* at various dates between summer 426 and summer 422 B.C. with the interest due on those sums. The rate of interest was beyond doubt $\frac{1}{30000}$ *per diem;* but to what date the interest is calculated is not apparent. The inscription professes to cover four years *ἐκ Παναθηναίων ἐς Παναθήναια.*

To Böckh's figures and restorations the following objections may be made:—(i) His first sum of interest is one letter too short for the space on the stone, even granting one space for a stop. (ii) His interest for the 4th payment is too large by 4 obols to allow of the total given in the inscription. (iii) For the 6th payment his restoration requires 5 spaces too many.

Kirchhoff who has in several places made excellent restorations and brought Böckh's suggestions more into harmony with the *usus loquendi* is forced to confess that Böckh's treatment of the 6th payment is 'dura sane ratio et lubricosa, sed qua meli-

[1] It is accessible in Hicks, *Greek Inscriptions*, pp. 66—71 and Dittenberger, *Syllog. Graec. Inscr.* 29, p. 51 sqq.

orem excogitare mihi non contigerit.' Both of these editors suppose a somewhat irregular prytany-system, of which they attempt no explanation. Thus they make the year 426/5 B.C. contain 355 days, and these days are distributed among the 10 prytanies so that the first 7 contain 35 days each, the 8th and 9th 37, the 10th 36.

K. Kubicki (*Das Schaltjahr*, Ratibor 1888), beginning from a different part of the inscription proved, as G. F. Unger, his reviewer in the *Berliner phil. Wochenschr.*, Dec. 15, 1888, says, 'unwidersprechlich,' that the four years as they appear in the latter part of the inscription contained 1464 days. But, when he came to apply this knowledge to the rest of the inscription, he was driven to strange hypotheses, which Unger very properly refused to credit.

I propose now to demonstrate mathematically that *the inscription, as it is read at present, cannot be correct.* To state the facts (as they are now read) first. Six payments were made in the first[1] year :—

Prytany-date	Days of interest	Sum	Interest
A. II. 4.		20 t.	[spaces for 7[2] letters] ΔΓΗ
B. II.	1397	50 t.	2 t. 1970 d.
C. IV. 5.		𐅄 [12[2] letters]	[1[3] letter] Τ [2 letters] ΗΗΔΓΗΗΗΙΙ
D. VIII. 5.		𐅄𐅄𐅄𐅄 [1 letter] TTTXXX	[12 or[4] 4 letters[5]]
E. VIII.	1197	100 t.	3 t. 5940 d.
F. X. 7.		𐅄Γ [6[2] letters]	[4[2] letters] Η𐅅ΔΔΗΗ[6]

Total in the first year :—

[1[3] letter] Η [2 letters] [3[2] letters]

𐅄ΤΡΓΗ [4 letters] 𐅅ΔΔΔΔΓΗΗΗΗ

[1] It is the first year that presents difficulty; the others contain fewer payments, and are only defectively preserved.

[2] Of these spaces one may be a blank for a stop.

[3] This may be a blank for a stop.

[4] The number depends on whether we restore *τόκος τούτω[ν]* or *τόκος τούτο[ις ἐγένετο]*.

[5] Two of these spaces may be blanks for stops.

[6] Here may follow as much as |||.

The rate of interest appears from B and E here, and from the first payment in the next year. As that is the only payment the record of which is preserved entire, it may be well to give it here :—

2nd year IV. 3.	985	30 t.	5910 d.

Now we know two things at any rate about the Attic Calendar and Prytany-System. No year was less than 354 days, none greater than 385 days; and no prytany, probably, was less than 35 days long. We are not yet in a position to name the major limits of a prytany[1]: but we can at least say this—that as some day in the 2nd prytany was 1397 days from the day to which interest is calculated, and as the previous payment was on the 4th day of that prytany, the B payment may have been any day from the 5th to the end of the prytany. Assume as the extreme limit of a prytany that in an intercalary year, a prytany might run to 31 days more than the ordinary limit, *i.e.* that the intercalated or repeated month was balanced by an intercalated or repeated prytany, then the extreme limit of a prytany will be $35 + 31 = 66$ days. The payment B then is between the 5th and the 66th day of the 2nd prytany. If this is the 1397th day from the date to which interest is calculated, A on the 4th of the 2nd prytany must range from 1398—1459 days from that limit.

Now the amount of A is 20 talents: the interest then is $\frac{x \times 20 \times 6000}{30{,}000}$ drachmas, where x is the number of days. It is then four times the number of days. The last two figures then must be divisible by 4, and must therefore be 16, 36, 76, or 96 (56 is excluded by the inscription ΔΓΗ). Again, the range of interest is 1398×4 to 1459×4, *i.e.* 5592 to 5836. The possible amounts of interest then are 5596, (5616), [5636], [5676], 5696, (5716), 5736, 5776, (5796), [5816], 5836. Those in round brackets are shewn to be impossible by the inscription; those in square brackets are perhaps improbable. (See p. 55[2].)

[1] Kubicki gives prytanies of 41, 26, 48, 47 days. I would here call attention to *C. I. A.* II. 186 and 188: Vischer rightly gives Σκιροφοριῶνος for Θαργηλιῶνος in 188, but as πέμπτῃ (or ἐβδόμῃ) καὶ τριακοστῇ must be there read in line 6, we must read τρίτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ (for εἰκοστῇ) in 186 line 19, unless we make the 9th prytany 45 days. Cf. Dittenb. 111.

Again, by adding the interest of A, B, C, E, F together, we get for the last two figures 17, 37, 77 or 97 drachmas according to what value we assign A, and from 3—6 obols according to what is to be understood to follow at the end of F. (See p. 55[6].) Subtracting this total from the total of the six payments we get for the last figures of D 81, 61, 21 or 01 drachmas, 4—1 obols.

Now the 3rd of the 4th prytany of the next year is 985 days from the date down to which the interest is calculated. It is certain too that no prytany was less than 35 days long. Hence, counting backwards, the 5th day of the 8th of the 1st year is not less than 1193 days from that date. Again, the limit of B is the last day of the 2nd prytany: it follows that the 1st day of the 3rd prytany at greatest is 1396 days from the limit, and therefore, counting forward, the 5th day of the 8th prytany is not more than 1217 days from the limit.

Now the sum paid on that day can be restored in but two ways; 44 talents or 48 talents 3000 drachmas. The interest on these amounts for the various possible days is as follows:—

Days	Capital 44 t. 3000 d.	48 t. 3000 d.	Days	Capital 44 t. 3000 d.	48 t. 3000 d.
	drachmas	drachmas		drachmas	drachmas
1217	10831·3	11804·9	1204	10715·6	11678·8
1216	**10822·4**	11795·2	1203	10706·7	11669·1
1215	10813·5	11785·5	1202	10697·8	11659·4
1214	10804·6	11775·8	1201	10688·9	11649·7
1213	10795·7	11766·1	1200	10680·0	11640·0
1212	10786·8	11756·4	1199	10671·1	11630·3
1211	10777·9	11746·7	1198	**10662·2**	**11620·6**
1210	10769·0	11737·0	1197	10653·3	11610·9
1209	10760·1	11727·3	1196	10644·4	**11601·2**
1208	10751·2	11717·6	1195	10635·5	11591·5
1207	10742·3	11707·9	1194	10626·6	**11581·8**
1206	10733·4	11698·2	1193	10617·7	11572·1
1205	10724·5	11688·5			

The only amounts here that are possible as fulfilling our requirement that they end in 81, 61, 21 or 01 drachmas, 1—4 obols, are those in heavier type. A word of explanation as to the inclusion of some of these in our list is needed.

Our inscription gives us (ll. 75—95) a number of payments with their interest, which must have been made, as appears from calculation, 17 days from the end. Three of these are preserved entire; and they give us instructive results, if we enquire what the Logistai did with fractional sums. Thus

1 t. 1748 d. in 17 days gives	4 d. 2·343 ob.	The inscription 4 d. $2\frac{1}{2}$ o.; though $\frac{1}{4}$ o. is nearer the truth, it gives the *higher* figure.
521 d. in 17 days gives	1·77 ob.	The inscription $1\frac{3}{4}$ o.; it gives the *nearer*, not the higher figure.
80 d. in 17 days gives	·27 ob.	The inscription $\frac{1}{2}$ o.; the *higher*, not the nearer figure.

And this is done, although the interest is due to different temple-treasuries. We must suppose then either that the Logistai calculated roughly, perhaps by a Ready Reckoner, or that the approximations are now higher, now lower so as to balance each other.

In any case, for our purpose it will at present be sufficient to regard as possible, sums of interest either slightly above or below the truth. We have next to enquire how these amounts satisfy the other conditions of the problem. The result is that we find that 10662·2 is only possible if we suppose |||C or ||| to follow the total, which Kirchhoff declares that there is no indication of in the stone; 11601·2 and 11581·8 require us to suppose that D and E were written in the wrong order by mistake; 10822·4 is open to the same objection as 10662·2 and in an even greater measure, and besides it would require some such restoration as *ἐσεληλ[υθυίας τὴν ἡμίσειαν τ]ῆς πρυτανείας* for payment E, which seems highly improbable and would need a parallel. If we examine too which of these numbers are palaeographically possible we find that 1 t. 4662 d. $1\frac{1}{2}$ ob. is too great (but we may probably omit the half obol, as we saw above): so are 1 t. 4822 d. $2\frac{1}{2}$ ob.[1] and 1 t. 5581 d. 5 ob. (but 4 obols would be correct); and 1 t. 5601 d. $1\frac{1}{2}$ ob. is too large for *τούτοις ἐγένετο*, too small for *τούτων*. It is unnecessary for our purposes to select the least objectionable hypothesis from such unsatisfactory alternatives; it may however be noticed before

[1] Unless we read M = 10,000 d.

passing on that 1 t. 5581 d. 5 ob. would give an impossible restoration δύο for E.

To turn to payment F. This was made on the 7th day of the 10th prytany. By the process that we before used, we get as the range of date for it 1121—1145. The sum paid ranges between 15 and 20 talents: the interest, therefore, can not be less than 3363 drachmas, nor more than 4580. Hence it must be either 3672 d. 1—4 ob., 4172 d. 1—4 ob., or 4572 d. 1—4 ob. Again, tabulating our results, we have

Days	Interest 3672 d. 1—4 ob.	4172 d. 1—4 ob.	4572 d. 1—4 ob.
1145	**16 t. 212, 216, 221 d.**	18 t. 1312 d.	19 t. 5793 d.
1144	**16 t. 302, 306, 311 d.**	18 t. 1409 d.	19 t. 5897 d.
1143	16 t. 380 d.	**18 t. 1505, 1510 d.**	
1142	16 t. 464 d.	18 t. 1602 d.	
1141	**16 t. 553, 557, 562 d.**	18 t. 1699 d.	The inscription only allows 8 or 7 places for the amount paid. Hence many sums, which manifestly could not be restored for this reason, have been only approximately put down here. The possible amounts are in heavier type. It should be noticed that as no prytany was less than 35 days long, 1194 days for payment D excludes all dates of more than 1122 days; 1196 more than 1124; 1198 more than 1126; 1216 more than 1144.
1140	**16 t. 652 d.**	18 t. 1795 d.	
1139	**16 t. 720 d.**	18 t. 1892 d.	
1138	**16 t. 805, 810 d.**	18 t. 1989 d.	
1137	**16 t. 901 d.**	18 t. 2086 d.	
1136	16 t. 974 d.	18 t. 2182 d.	
1135	**16 t. 1062, 1066, 1075 d.**	18 t. 2278 d.	
1134	**16 t. 1152, 1156, 1161 d.**	18 t. 2374 d.	
1133	16 t. 1236 d.	18 t. 2470 d.	
1132	+16 t. 1310 d.	18 t. 2568 d.	
1131	+16 t. 1400 d.	18 t. 2665 d.	
1130	+16 t. 1400 d.	18 t. 2763 d.	
1129	+16 t. 1570 d.	18 t. 2861 d.	
1128	+16 t. 1660 d.	18 t. 2959 d.	
1127	+16 t. 1750 d.	18 t. 3058 d.	
1126	+16 t. 1800 d.	−18 t. 5000 d.	
1125	+16 t. 1800 d.	+18 t. 3000 d.	
1124	**16 t. 2025 d.**	−18 t. 5000 d.	
1123	**16 t. 2106 d.**	+18 t. 3000 d.	
1122	**16 t. 2201 d.**	+18 t. 3000 d.	
1121	+16 t. 2250 d.	−18 t. 5000 d.	

It thus appears that 4172 d. 1—4 ob. is only possible if 1143 days is the length of time from the 7th day of the 10th prytany to the end, *i.e.* if payment D is 1216 days from the end: and that for the other 3 solutions of D, it is necessary to make F 1124, 1123, or perhaps 1122 days.

If we now add the capital sums of A, B, D, E, F we get 230 t. 5000—5200 d., 232 t. 4500 d. or 234 t. 5000—5200 d. As C begins with Δ, it cannot be more than 49 talents: so that our total must be restored as 261 or 271 talents (241 cannot be

inserted in the space left). C then must be (i) 31 or 41 talents, 400—1000 d.; (ii) 29 or 39 t., 1100—1500 d.; (iii) 27 or 37 t., 400—1000 d. Again, if we add the interest of B, D, E, F we have a total of from 8 t. 4243 d. to 8 t. 5703 d. C is more than 1 talent 219 drachmas, so that if we add it and A to B, D, E, F we get a total of from 10 t. 4059 d. to 10 t. 5519 d. and upwards. This means, if we refer to the inscription, that the total may be 10 t. 5099 d., 10 t. 5199 d., 10 t. 5599 d., 11 t. 99 d., 11 t. 199 d., 11 t. 599 d., 11 t. 1099 d., 11 t. 5099 d. and so on.

Again, the date of C as compared with B cannot be earlier than 1357, as compared with D it cannot be later than 1334 days from the ultimate limit. Hence the interest of C is not greater than 1 t. 5172 d. nor less than 1 t. 1221 d. This means that the permissible values are 1 t. 1319 d., 1719 d., 2219 d., only.

We thus get as the only values for the total of interest 10 t. 5199 d., 10 t. 5599 d., 11 t. 99 d., 11 t. 199 d., 11 t. 599 d., 11 t. 1099 d. We also get as the only possible values for the capital sum of C (i) 29 t. 1100—1500 d., (ii) 27 t. 400—1000 d. This again simplifies matters, as with (i) the date of C can range only from 1357 to 1356.

Tabulating our results again we get :—

Days	Interest 1 t. 1319 d. 2 ob.	1 t. 1719 d. 2 ob.	1 t. 2219 d. 2 ob.
1357	26 t. 5813 d.	+28 t. – 29 t.	+30 t.
1356	26 t. 5932 d.	+28 t. – 29 t.	
1355	27 t. 52 d.		
1354	27 t. 172 d.		
1353	27 t. 292 d.		
1352	27 t. 412 d.	The only amounts lying between the specified limits are bracketed.	
1351	27 t. 532 d. (529)		
1350	27 t. 652 d. (654)	As a sum of 29 t. requires, as was shewn above, a date of 1357 or 1356 days, it is needless to continue the tables beyond what is here given.	
1349	27 t. 774 d. (772)		
1348	27 t. 897 d.		
1347	27 t. 1020 d. (19)		
1346	27 t. 1143 d. (2)		
1345	27 t. 1266 (3 or 7)		
1344	27 t. 1389 d.		
1343	27 t. 1500 d.	The amounts underlined are possible restorations.	
1342	27 t. 1621 d. (18 or 23)		
1341			
1340			
1339			

If we proceed now to sum up, we must notice that the supposition of 27 t. for C requires us to eliminate the hypothesis of 44 t. for D; and this leaves us only 1126—1 as the range for F, *i.e.* as we have seen 1124, 1123, or 1122 (?). As will be shewn lower down the most probable amount, as also the most legitimate palaeographically, for the interest of A is 5696. We will work with this assumption, correcting it subsequently. We have then

	Capital sum.	Interest.
A.	20 t.	5696 d.
B.	50 t.	2 t. 1970 d.
C.	27 t. (412—772 d.)	1 t. 1319 d. 2 ob.
D.	48 t. 3000 d.	1 t. 5601 d. 1½ ob.
E.	100 t.	3 t. 5940 d.
F.	16 t. 2000—2200 d.	3672 d. 1—4 ob.
Totals	261 t. 5412—5972 d.	11 t. 199 d. 1 ob. (to 198 d. 4½ ob.)

In this way the interest is correct, the capital within the right limits. As to the interest, we must notice that, if D be 1 t. 5581 d. 5 ob., A must be 5716 d.—which is impossible. We have to choose then between making A 5676 d.—one space too short—and D 1 t. 5620 d. 4 ob.—one space too short—and reading F as 3673 d. 1 ob. which has not been discovered by any one who has examined the stone so far; and on the other hand making A 5696 d.—a perfect restoration—D 1 t. 5601 d. 1 ob.—two letters too many; F will then be 3672 d. 4 ob. It is hard to choose between these alternatives, but until it is shewn how we may read τέσσαρες where there is only room on the stone (ll. 11—12) for four letters, we should perhaps adopt 1 t. 5620 d. 4 ob. for D.

Nothing now remains but to select the most legitimate values for the capital sums of C and F. These have to fulfil the three requirements of (i) satisfying the room left for C, (ii) satisfying F, (iii) adding up so as to fill the remaining spaces left for the total. Experiment shews that if we could believe D to have been 1 t. 5601 d. 1 ob., we could make F 16 t. 2106 d. for 1123 days, C 27 t. 654 d. for 1350 days, or 27 t. 529 d. for 1351 days, or again F 16 t. 2201 d. for 1122 days, and C 27 t. 412 d. for 1352, 27 t. 529 d. for 1351, or 27 t. 654 d. for

1350 days. But if D be 1 t. 5620 d. 4 ob., there is no possible solution of C and F.

The result, then, is that, *unless we can suppose some error in the stone, the figures are arithmetically inconsistent.* Practically Böckh came to this conclusion, in conjecturing the mason to have written τό[κος το]ύτων ἐγένετο by mistake. We have to consider whether we can arrive at figures involving less violent alterations than Böckh's.

In the first place Kubicki has shewn, as Unger admits, beyond dispute, that those loans which had been made in the seven years before our inscription, and the custody of which was transferred to our Board of Treasurers, are charged with interest in the inscription for 1464 days. Now this must manifestly be, as Kubicki saw, the length of time our Treasurers held office. Kubicki indeed went farther, and supposed that 1464 days was the length of the 4 Attic years 426/5—423/2: but this led him into such incredible inferences that Unger pronounces the πρῶτον ψεῦδος of Kubicki to be that he did not remember that the inscription avowedly reckons ἐκ Παναθηναίων ἐς Παναθήναια. Unger seems to wish 1464 to be the time during which the old loans are to be supposed to have paid interest; but the loans made in our Quadrennium are to pay for 1448 days. He seems to make the new loans pay to the end of 423/2, the old to the Panathenaia in 422/1. But he overlooks that if the reckoning is ἐς Παναθήναια, it is also ἐκ Παναθηναίων: and this is four years, as long (and no longer) as from Hecatombaion 1st to Hecatombaion 1st. How then can we account for these 1464 days? Notice first that the date to which interest is reckoned is the end of the last prytany of the year 423/2 or the beginning of the first prytany of the year 422/3: for several payments, made almost certainly on the 20th of the 10th prytany of the 4th year, are 17 days from the end. We conclude then the Treasurers held office for 4 years—and perhaps ἐκ Παναθηναίων ἐς Παναθήναια means no more than this—and made their accounts from the end of the last prytany of 427/6 to the end of the last prytany of 423/2.

Now if we try 426/5 as a *common* year, we get the first payment on II. 4 as 1426 or 1425 days, or if Aristotle 'Aθ. πολ.

43 § 2 is true of the 5th century B.C. 1424 or 1425 days, from the end of 423/2. The number 1424 is alone possible. But the first payment in 425/4 on IV. 3 is 985 days from the end. Hence there should be 369, 368, 372, 371, 360, 359 days in 426/5—we do not yet know whether 425/4 is a leap year or not, nor whether Aristotle applies to the 5th century. In any case we know at present of no year containing this number of days. Again, let 426/5 be a leap year, reckoned as they are usually reckoned with prytanies of 39 and 38 days: then the first payment on II. 4 should be 1423, 1422 or 1421 days from the end: this is impossible.

In the second part of this paper I have brought forward some reasons for believing that in the 5th century in a leap year of 384 days, the first five prytanies perhaps would be the normal length, 35 or 36 days, while the remaining five would be lengthened. The year would thus contain about 367—371 days, and the remaining days of the intercalated month were added in the next year. I have mentioned that the details of the arrangement of the sequence of the shorter and longer prytanies within the second year must be left an open question until we possess more consecutive inscriptional evidence: but that it appears that in leap year the prytany year was lengthened so as to end with the Skirophorion full moon. Applying this to our inscription we find that several details may be restored in several ways, differing little from one another, and impossible to decide certainly between, until more evidence is accessible. Meanwhile we may say that the best restoration seems to run as follows:—

	Date.	Days of Year.	Days of Interest.	Capital sum.	Interest.
A.	II. 4	40	1424	20 t.	5696 d.
B.	II. 31	67	1397	50 t.	2 t. 1970 d.
C.	IV. 5	114	1350	27 t. 654 d.	1 t. 1319 d. 2 ob.
D.	VIII. 6 (*lapis* 5)	268	1196	48 t. 3000 d.	1 t. 5601 d. 1 ob.
E.	VIII. 5 (*lapis* 6)	267	1197	100 t.	3 t. 5940 d.
F.	X. 7	340	1124	16 t. 2021 d.	3672 d. 4 ob.
	Totals			261 t. 5675 d.	11 t. 199 d. 1 ob.

We may suppose the prytanies to run 36, 35, 38, 38, 38, 38, 39, 36, 35, 38 = 371 days. Any other of the endless combina-

tions and permutations of these numbers may be right which leaves our dates unaffected.

The restoration of A is unexceptionable.

For B read [λ]οι[παὶ ἦσαν πέντε ἡμέραι]. This is a reasonable mode of expression, *only when the prytany is more than half over*[1] (not so Dittenberger): the Greeks reckon inclusively (not so Kubicki).

The restorations of C and F are unexceptionable. The interest of D is two figures too many[2], if τόκος τούτο[ις ἐγένετο] is right. The stonecutter dated E and D in the right order, but put the sums in the wrong.

This may serve as a tentative hypothesis until further evidence makes clear the system of distributing the extra days among the prytanies.

The second year of the Quadriennium presents little difficulty. There are two payments:—

	Date.	Days of Year.	Days of Interest.	Capital sum.	Interest.
A.	IV. 3	108	985	30 t.	5910 d.
B.	IX. 15	298	795	100 t.	2 t. 3900 d.
	Totals			130 t.	3 t. 3810 d.

This is the only possible restoration of this year. The prytanies, therefore, run somewhat thus:—35, 35, 35, 36, 35, 36, 35, 36, 35, 36. Our inscription does not suffice to indicate whether both of the last two prytanies contained 36 days, making the year of 355 days: but the convergence of our Thucydidean *data* and of astronomical calculation justifies us in here following Böckh rather than Kubicki, and making the year 354 days long.

We now come to the third and fourth years. Kubicki deserves the utmost credit for his enterprising boldness in resolving that these years could be restored, and though his conclusions appear impossible, the solution here offered is little but a readjustment of his dates.

[1] Cf. *C. I. A.* IV. 1. 3. 179 *a*, *b*, p. 162, l. 32 ἡμέραι λοιποὶ ἦσαν ὀκτ[ώ]. Cf. *C. I. A.* I. 187, l. 6.

[2] With much doubt I suggest τόκος τούτο [ἐγένετο]; cf. *C. I. A.* I. 273, lines 70—95 *passim*.

The totals of the two years 426/5 and 425/4 are capital-sum 391 t. 5675 d. and interest 14 t. 4009 d. 1 ob. The fragments preserved of the accounts of 424/3 and 423/2 are :—

	Date.	Days of Year.	Days of Interest.	Capital sum.	Interest.
A.	[II, III[1] or IV]	26			4665 d. 5 ob.
B.	[III, IV[2] or V]	12		23 t.[ ]	
C.	[3]			[ ]𐅄	632 d. 1½ ob.
D.	[ ]	30			
	No totals preserved.				
	And				
A.	[4]			59 t. 4720 d.	
B.	[5]			[1 or 2 spaces] 𐅅 5500 d.	163 d. 3 ob.
C.	[III—VI[6]]	4			582 d. 1 ob.
D.	[[7]]	2 [ ]		100 t.	𐅆𐅄
E.	[8]				122 d. 2½ ob.
	Totals			𐅃𐅃𐅅 1642 d. 2½ ob.	1 t. 813 d. 2½ ob.

The total of the Capital Sums of the Quadriennium is given as [ ] 𐅄𐅄𐅃𐅃𐅃𐅆𐅅𐅆 [ ].

In the third year A is paid about 713—605 days from the end. The Capital Sum therefore ranges from 32 t. 4250 d. upwards. C similarly is not less than 4 t. 4500 d. Hence the total of this year's loans cannot be less than 60 t. But the total for 426/5 and 425/4 was 391 t. 5675 d. Hence the Grand Total of the Quadriennium must be 747 t. (line 50); and therefore the total for 423/2 cannot be more than 295 t.; it must be then 232, 242, 272 or 282 t.

In the fourth year D (to have its interest possible of restoration in the empty space) must be [82, 84][9], 87, 89, [91, 93][9], 96 or 98 days from the end: it must be, then, the 22nd, 24th or 27th day of the VIII. prytany. What we know of the lengths of prytanies shews that 96 and 98 are impossible. And lines 75—95 make it evident that the last prytany contained 37 (or

[1] 19 spaces for tribe's name (genitive) and number.

[2] 16 spaces for tribe's name (genitive) and number.

[3] 𐅄𐅇 begins the tribe's number.

[4] 17 spaces for number and day.

[5] 16 spaces for number and day.

[6] 𐅆𐅇𐅋 ends the tribe's number: Ross thought there was a 𐅂 before this.

19 spaces for number and name.

[7] 17 spaces for the number and the rest of the day.

[8] 𐅆𐅆 [5 spaces] 𐅇𐅉 is the day.

[9] Hypotheses in brackets are unlikely on palaeographical grounds.

just possibly 38) days. The last 3 prytanies then contain from 107—116 days. The 22nd day may range from 87—93, the 24th from 84—91, the 27th from 82—89: this reduces the range of the last 3 prytanies to 108—116 days. D's interest will be from 1640 d.—1860 d. B must fall not later than the 4th of the VIth prytany, the last possible date of C, and it cannot be in the 1st or 2nd prytany. It ranges then from 302 to 174 days from the end. This makes the only possible restorations of the Capital Sum to be 2 t. 5500 d. and 3 t. 5500 d. If it be 2 t. 5500 d., interest ran for 281 days, if 3 t. 5500 d. for 209. With 281 days the date is from III. 2—30. The only restorations possible with τρίτης are ἐνδεκάτῃ or τριακοστῇ. The latter gives a year of 381 days at least, so that ἐνδεκάτῃ alone remains. With 209 days the date is V. 4—24, so that it must be δωδεκάτῃ.

(*α*) If B be III. 11, A must be in the II. prytany, *i.e.* from 331—292 days from the end. Its interest then is from 3958 d. —3390 d. or so. The total of interest of A, B, D, E is from 5315 d.—6104 d. Hence the interest of C is 582 d. 1 ob. Its date may be IV. 4, [V. 4][1], or VI. 4. The range of IV. 4 is 253 —249, of V. 4 218—210, of VI. 4 183—171, and because of D only 183—174 days from the end. Therefore C must be from 11 t. 3031 d.—11 t. 4140 d., 13 t. 2114 d.—13 d. 5167 d., or 15 t. 5437—16 t. 4373 d. The total of A, B, C, D thus becomes 174 t. 1251—2360 d., 176 t. 334—3387 d. or 178 t. 3657 d. —179 t. 2693 d. Since E cannot be less than 17 t. (to produce the interest given), the total of the Capital Sums for this year must be 232, 242, 272 or 282 t. 1642 d. E then must be either 57 (67, 97, or 107) t. 5282 d.—58 t. 391 d. or 55 t. 4255 d.—56 t. 1308 d. or 52 t. 4949 d.—53 t. 3985 d. None of these will produce any interest that we can restore.

(*β*) If B be V. 12, A may be in the II., III. or IV. prytany, *i.e.* from 337—221 days from the end. Its interest ranges from 4029—2642 d. The total of interest A, B, D, E will now allow C to be either 582 d. 1 ob. or 1582 d. 1 ob. Its date can be only VI. 4, *i.e.* from 182—178 days from the end. Hence C must be

[1] Hypotheses in brackets are unlikely on palaeographical grounds.

between 15 t. 5961 d. and 16 t. 2118 d. or between 43 t. 2797 d. and 44 t. 2657 d. The total of A, B, C, D thus becomes 179 t. 4181 d.—180 t. 338 d. or 207 t. 1017 d.—208 t. 877 d. E then must be 52 t. (62, 92, 102) 1304 d.—3461 d. or 24 t. (34, 64, 74) 765 d.—25 t. 625 d. None seems possible.

It is evident then that here again there must be some error in the stone, but it is futile, where the traces still left are so few, to attempt to guess what the error is. And the third year cannot be solved until the fourth is solved ; for we do not know either capital sum or interest of the fourth payment or of the totals in the third year. We must wait until further evidence demonstrates either the exact method of arranging the prytanies at this date or the order of the prytanies in this year. For the sake of completeness I put down here, however, Kubicki's restoration of these two years—expunging what is due to his peculiar notion of 12 epagomen days in 424/3, and 16 more in 423/2, and of prytanies 47 days long. This notion is as incredible[1] to me as to Unger.

Third Year 424/3 B.C. 367 days = 36, 35, 38, 38, 38, 38, 38, 35, 36, 35.

	Date.	Days of Year.	Days of Interest.	Capital sum.	Interest.
A.	II. 26	62	677	34 t. 2757 d. 5 ob.	4665 d. 5 ob.
B.	III. 12	83	656	23 t. 5397 d. 3 ob.	3135 d. 4 ob.
C.	VI. 9[2]	194	545	5 t. 4800 d.	632 d. 1½ ob.
D.	IX. 30	326	413	8 t. 5045 d.	730 d. 1½ ob.
	Totals			73 t. 2 ob.	1 t. 3164 d.

Fourth Year 423/2 B.C. 372[3] days = 38, 38, 38, 36, 36, 35, 36, 39, 38 + 1, 37.

[1] It should be pointed out too that his reconstruction is inconsistent with itself in this way: it reckons the payments of these four years to the first day of 422/1. In that case the money of the Septennium preceding must be taken to be paid over on the first day of the Prytany-Year 426/5. It pays interest for 1464 days, but Kubicki's figures it will be found would make it 1463 days. I take the money to be paid over on the last day of 427/6, and the interest reckoned to the last day of 423/2.

[2] I read *ἐνάτῃι*, not *ἕκτῃι* with Kubicki.

[3] There may be a day less here, and a day more in 424/3; see p. 75[1]. From the true new moon July 412 to true full moon July 411 there are 367 days.

	Date.	Days of Year.	Days of Interest.	Capital sum.	Interest.
A.	III[1] 3. 38	114	258	59 t. 4720 d.	3084 d. 5½ ob.
B.	v. 12	163	209	3 t. 5500 d.	163 d. 4½ ob.
C.	IV[2] 3. 4	118	254	31 t. 871 d. 2½ ob.	1582 d.
D.	VIII[3]. 22	279	93	100 t.	1860 d.
E.	X[3]. 30	365	7	87 t. 2551 d.	122 d. 2½ ob.
	Totals			282 t. 1642 d. 2½ ob.	1 t. 813 d. 1½ ob.

II.

Until the time of Böckh, it was inferred from Diodorus XII. 36 that the Athenians directed their year by an octaeterid system down to 432 B.C., when they adopted Meton's invention of an enneakaidecaeterid cycle. Böckh found however from inscriptions that the adoption of Meton's cycle did not follow on the heels of its invention; and subsequent investigation has only tended to justify this view. It has not yet been pointed out, however, that our authorities give no more warrant for believing that a fixed octaeterid system was in vogue at Athens in 432 B.C. than for assigning the adoption of Meton's cycle to that year. And while there is no express[4] testimony to demonstrate that an eight year cycle was rigidly observed, there are several indirect proofs that it was not observed.

(1) The vulgar belief is based upon Censorinus 18: hunc circuitum vere annum magnum esse pleraque Graecia existimavit. But there is no necessary connexion between the astronomer's views in any age and the calendar—as is shewn by the now accepted view that Meton's cycle was not used at

[1] I here read *τῇι τελευτῇι τῆς πρυτανείας* or *τῇι ὑστάτηι*. Were Kubicki's IV. 1 possible in view of C's date, I should prefer *ἀρχομένης τ. π.* to *τῇι πρώτηι*.

[2] The wrong order of B and C (if this be correct) supports the conjectural restoration of the year 426/5.

[3] We thus have Acamantis III. Prytany, Antigonis IV., Pandionis V., Aiantis VIII., Leontis X.

[4] So G. F. Unger in Müller's *Hand. d. klass. Alt.-Wiss.* I. p. 748, "Dass schon vor und zu Metons Zeit in Athen die Oktaeteris bestanden hat, ist zwar nicht ausdrücklich bezeugt aber unzweifelhaft."

Athens till 336 B.C. or so. And our own reformation of the Julian Calendar in the last century, with the still unreformed Calendar of the Orthodox Church, are parallel cases.

(2) The present theory is that the Octaeterid Cycle was used until 336 B.C., that then the nineteen year cycle was introduced, but replaced by the eight year again about 127/6 B.C. Now, as a theory, this must be pronounced illogical and irrational: and a little reflexion shews what an important consideration this is. The constructors of this theory have certain dates, at considerable intervals, to explain and harmonize into some theory of the Attic Calendar, and their method of working has been to construct a presumed Attic Calendar-System at each of these fixed points, and, working backwards and forwards, suppose a change in the Athenian System wherever their own reconstructed partial calendars met and clashed. This is intolerable, from the standpoint of a scientific worker.

(3) But worse remains. We might concede that when two dates a hundred years apart seemed to demonstrate the existence of different calendar-systems at those dates, the supposition of a change in the system somewhere between the two dates was not a fatal objection to the theory which required such a supposition. But the present theory is guilty of a far more unscientific irrationality. It finds dates in 432 and 431, and 426—423 B.C., and fits these into an eight year cycle. But (incredible as the statement is) it has to suppose this eight year cycle to be replaced by a new one in the winter of 422, *i.e.* the cycle breaks down eighteen months after the last of the *data* which the cycle is postulated to include. Now if this is a coincidence, it is a very remarkable coincidence: but the argument can, I think, be pressed farther than this. For whatever may be the difficulties which serve us as reasons or excuses for assuming this alteration of the Octaeteris at this conveniently happy date, these difficulties are no reasons for the Athenians to have taken such a step. They must have been led to it by finding that the calendar was going wrong when compared with the Natural Year or with perhaps the Olympic Games. And here the Octaeteris theory seems to involve itself in a troublesome dilemma. According to the theory, by 422 the cycle was

two[1] days out, and three times out of eight began the year a month too late. Now (*a*) if it be the two days which seemed so serious an error that the cycle must be reconstructed, it must be pointed out that it is monstrous to suppose that in 10 years (432—422) the Calendar should go wrong so seriously as to require so violent a handling: the difficulty would recur every 10 years, and we are no better than Ptolemaics clutching at epicycles if we imagine that we have discovered the true Calendar-system into which our dates of 432—422 B.C. will fit, if we then immediately have to assume—just at the point where continuous evidence ceases for a while—that the system was then changed. (*b*) If we suppose that the Athenian calendar was capable of[1] adjusting the odd days—and, if the investigator had always remembered that the calendar did not begin, where his knowledge of it began, in 432 B.C., he would never have supposed otherwise—but assume that it was on account of the frequent error of a month that the change was made, we have another problem to solve. The Octaeteris goes wholly wrong by a month in about 150 years, and after about 20 it goes wrong in one of the eight years. Hence, again, we must regard it as a singularly felicitous occurrence for the credit of the octaeterid system that the Athenians chose the year 422 for perpetrating this change. The argument, that they did so because they now found out their error on recovering intercourse with the Peloponnesian world, breaks down in face of the fact that no change is noticeable in 10 years, so that (as a reconstruction of the octaeterid calendar for 440—433 proves) there were the same reasons for the alteration before the outbreak of the war. And if it is not entirely fortuitous that the alteration was in 422, but the Athenians made it

[1] In the *Classical Review*, IX. pp. 30, 31, I have argued that the evidence generally produced to shew that *two* days were intercalated in 422/1 does not justify that view; and that the supposition advanced in the text—that the Athenian Calendar was capable of adjusting odd days—is entirely borne out by the evidence properly interpreted. Unger's restoration begins with an error of 2 days in the Calendar in 432 (the first year he reconstructs for) and, nursing the error down to 422, then conveniently finds in it at least part of the reason for a subversion of the Octaeteris as originally assumed.

because they considered that the error inherent in the Octaeteris had now advanced sufficiently, it is difficult to see why a similar alteration should not have taken place wherever our *data* shew that years eight places distant from each other were the one a leap-year, the other common. In this case we shall be led to challenge the 19 year cycle presumed to have been used between 336 and 127 B.C., and, what is still more serious for the credit of the common theory, it becomes impossible to infer that any particular year was a leap-year or common, from the fact that another year, 30 or 40 years distant, holding the same position in the cycle, had that character. An examination of the method by which the cycle is usually[1] reconstructed will shew how regularly this is done, and therefore how uncertain the whole method must appear to be.

(4) So far we have argued from general considerations. It is indeed the weakness of the advocates of the Octaeteris that they have confined themselves mainly to attempting to fit a number of known facts into a theory, without criticizing the theory as an Athenian Calendar. But it is not enough to invent a theory which will satisfy us; if the theory is sound, it must explain itself as a rational Calendar for the Athenians to have come by. All changes in it must have had reasons which led the Athenians to make them: they must not merely be changes which we infer on finding our theory will not admit of some fact. These general considerations seem in themselves sufficient to make us sceptical of the Octaeteris: inscriptional evidence may make us convinced of its falsity.

In *C. I. A.* IV. 2, 27*b* we read *μῆνα δὲ ἐμβάλλειν Ἑκατομβαιῶνα τὸν νέον ἄρχοντα.* The date is somewhere about 440 B.C. Now if (*a*) the octaeterid cycle was in use before 440, there can be no question of an omission to intercalate Poseideon, with a subsequent discovery from observation that this ought to have been done. Nor can there be question of an extra-intercalation

[1] To establish the theory of a 19 year cycle between 340 and 263 B.C. (an 8 year cycle being used before and after), Unger produces no arguments but this, with the exception of a passage in Dem. *Cherson.* § 14, where he must translate *ἐὰν περιμείνας τοὺς ἐτησίας ἐπὶ Βυζάντιον ἐλθὼν πολιορκῇ, as if it implied that the Etesian winds were then blowing or were instantly imminent.* But see 1 *Phil.* § 31.

to fit the Athenian Year to the Olympic: in that case the step would be necessary every eighth year, and the Octaeteris is worthless and disregarded, or else the month in error in 422 is due to this intercalation in 440, and we have the spectacle of a city with the knowledge of a sound Octaeteris nominally adopting it, but in reality recklessly hacking it about in order to fall in with the Calendar of another city with a less sound Calendar. Such an adoption of the Octaeteris is so nominal that it is certainly impossible to argue about. (*b*) If the Octaeteris was not in use in 440 but introduced between then and 432, the argument stated in the last section (pp. 69—71) becomes overwhelming. The cycle cannot be supposed in 18 years (at the very outside) to have gone so utterly astray as to require readjustment. We know as a fact that an octaeteris is correct enough for about 50 years[1].

The upshot is that either an octaeterid system was in use continually checked by observation, and reconstructed as occasion required, or observation was entirely relied on, in which case we must expect occasional oversights. These alternatives, however, in fact are scarcely distinguishable where we have no direct evidence as to what was done. The octaeterid cycle is correct for short periods, when observation corrects odd days (as we have seen was usual at Athens), so that we cannot say whether the years were fixed by such a cycle or by observation.

(5) Meton's work, and Aristophanes' jokes, suggest that Athenian thought had been directed to the subject, and it is just possible that in 422 an octaeterid system was substituted for observation owing to the experience of its insufficiency before the battle of Delium. Without pronouncing on this, we may point out that in any case the influence of the old system

[1] If the reconstruction of the Calendar for 424–2 B.C. suggested in *Class. Rev.* vol. IX. pp. 30, 31, be accepted, we have a further reason for rejecting the theory of a definitely fixed Octaeteris at that date. Where there is no artificial rule for hollow and full months (as in the Metonic Cycle), *days* are intercalated merely as required, unless the adoption of an Octaeteris demands every intercalated month to contain 30 days. Hence, if the intercalated month is not *ipso facto* of 30 days, as appears to be the case in 424/3 B.C., we may doubt how far a formal Octaeteris is in vogue.

of observation still appears after this date in one of the Athenian measures of time to be now referred to.

(6) Besides the division of the year into months, which served as a Sacred Calendar for fixing the time of feasts and fasts, the Athenians had a Civil Calendar measured by the sittings of the Boule. It was generally assumed before 1891 that they entered on office on the 1st of Hecatombaion, and a host of inscriptions have been restored on this supposition. Now however we read in Aristotle *Aθ. πολ.* 32 § 1 *ἔδει δὲ τὴν εἰληχυῖαν τῷ κυάμῳ βουλὴν εἰσιέναι τετράδι ἐπὶ δέκα Σκιροφοριῶνος*, and so Gilbert, *Griech. Staatsalt.* ed. 2, p. 297, note 1, now says 'Amtsantritt des Rathes in der Mitte des Skirophorion scheint sich aus Arist. zu ergeben.' Are all these inscriptions wrongly restored then? We cannot escape the inference by supposing that the Senate succeeded to office in Skirophorion, but reckoned their office from Hecatombaion, for *εἰσιέναι* is the regular word used of the beginning of the various prytanies, and it is inconceivable that *e.g.* *ἐσεληλυθυίας ἓξ ἡμέρας τῆς πρυτανείας* should mean the 21st day actually of the prytany, but what would have been the 6th if the prytany began their duties on Hecatombaion 1st.

And we can hardly dare to suppose a change after the Four Hundred, unless no other explanation is forthcoming. To do so[1] would be again to have a theory that breaks down as soon as we travel outside the group of facts it coordinates. But *C. I. A.* I. 189 *a* shews us that the Senate entered on office on Hecatombaion 2nd in 407/6 B.C. So that the interval for the change is slight in the extreme.

There is, however, I venture to believe, an explanation of this passage, which is open to no such objection, solves the difficulties of the Treasurer's Inscription, and explains others, and, while perfectly consistent with every inscription yet accessible, throws light on the early history of the Attic Calendar.

[1] Besides this objection to such a hypothesis, it should be noticed that if before the Four Hundred the Prytany-Year began on Skirophorion 14th, we get no help towards the solution of the Quadriennium in *C. I. A.* I. 273. Skirophorion 14th to Skirophorion 14th is a year and no more.

Until the adoption of a regular cycle, the Athenians must have been compelled to rely upon observation[1] for the correction of their Calendar. As we shall see, there is some evidence to justify us in surmising that then a psephism would be required to direct intercalation when necessary, that this was passed sometimes at any rate just before the intercalation, and that sometimes at least the order of the prytanies was only determined just before they came into office. It is natural to suppose that in the first age of empiric astronomy, it was quite usual for the first five prytanies or so to be of the ordinary length, for intercalation to be then resolved on, and the others lengthened[2]; then another five had to be lengthened in the next year, thus balancing the intercalated month in the Sacred Year by two longer Prytany-Years. As will be seen below, there is evidence to indicate that the Prytany-Year was regulated to some extent[3] independently of the Sacred Year. We cannot say whether in the 5th century the Octaeteris had been introduced, while this system of lengthening the prytany survived from earlier times; or whether the Octaeteris was only introduced subsequently. Inscriptional evidence shews that some Cycle was in use in Aristotle's day—the prytanies there being lengthened from the beginning of the year[4].

Now, this theory gives a perfectly rational course for the development of the Attic Calendar to take. It is unexception-

[1] Cf. Prof. J. Norman Lockyer, *The Origin of the Year*, in *Nature*, vol. XLV. pp. 487 ff.; XLVI. pp. 104—7; XLVII. p. 32.

[2] If the first 5 prytanies were of the normal length, 35 or 36 days, we get a total of, say, 177 days for them. This would bring us to the end of Ποσειδεὼν A; so that if notice of the intercalation were given only in Poseideon or Maimacterion, the 5th prytany would naturally end according to previous arrangements, while the remaining 5 prytanies would be lengthened. If our reconstruction of *C. I. A.* I. 273 is correct, intercalation was resolved on in Pyanepsion or Maimacterion.

[3] But this by no means justifies Unger in adding a day to a prytany for no manifest reason (Müller, *Handb.* p. 749).—See *e.g. C. I. A.* II. Add. 175 B, 179; 190. In 175 read Ἐ[λαφηβολιῶνος] ἕνη καὶ νέᾳ ἐμβολίμῳ=πέμπτη καὶ εἰκοστῇ in the VII. Prytany in some Leap-Year. Cf. *C. I. A.* I. 189 *a*.

[4] Cf. *C. I. A.* II. Add. 175 B, 176, 177, 178, 191; 183, 173, 174, 169; 121 must now (if Reusch's restoration be retained) be harmonized with Aristotle 43 § 2 by taking the Prytany-Year to end in 338/7 on the last day but one of Skirophorion.

able on that score. And besides there is some evidence which it, and it alone, can interpret.

(1) As I have tried to shew in the first part of this paper, we can solve the difficulty of the length of the Quadriennium 426—422 B.C., if the Prytany-Year after Leap-Year began about[1] Skirophorion 14th, while other years began with Hecatombaion 1st.

(2) Aristotle 'Aθ. πολ. 32 § 1 ἔδει δὲ τὴν εἰληχυῖαν τῷ κυάμῳ βουλὴν εἰσιέναι τετράδι ἐπὶ δέκα Σκιροφοριῶνος. The imperfect of course may simply mean that it ought then to have done so without implying that the custom had been changed by the 4th century, or that the Boule should have done so specially in this particular year. Still it is at least a curious coincidence that while our theory would imply that the reason was that 412/11 B.C. was a leap-year, Unger (as I have since found), by a subtle deduction[2] from Arist. 'Aθ. πολ. 33 § 1, proves that this was the case.

(3) A reason for the date too is not far to[3] seek. Strange as it may seem to us, the Athenians habitually referred their year to the moon: the ordinary year with the New, the Prytany-Year, it may be suggested, in these cases with the Full Moon. And is it an accident that when the Four Hundred ejected the Council of the Five Hundred, they did so *exactly a month* earlier? Thargelion 14th was the Full Moon preceding that of[4] Skirophorion 14th.

(4) Before I refer to the inscriptions which point to the truth of this theory, I should say that I have, I believe, examined every dated inscription hitherto discovered, and that none of them contradicts this theory; but I only give here those which seem to admit of little variety of interpretation.

[1] Our evidence is insufficient to shew whether a fixed day in Skirophorion was taken, or whether it was *e.g.* the 14th in hollow, the 15th in full months. For the Easter cycle full moon is reckoned as the fourteenth day. The addition of the extra day to Skirophorion sometimes instead of to Poseideon B complicates the question (cf. *C. I. A.* II. 262, 263, 264).

[2] Unger in Müller, p. 751.

[3] The Disoteria (cf. *C. I. A.* II. 741) occurs on that day. Cf. *C. I. A.* IV. 1, 3, 179 *d*, p. 162.

[4] These dates are confirmed by calculation. The full moon in 411 June is 9th day 11 h. 37 m. a.m., in July 8th day 7 h. 48 m. p.m. For the importance of the full moon cf. A. Mommsen, *Heortologie*, pp. 205, 223, 389 ff.

(*a*) *C. I. A.* IV. p. 35 (=I. 274). [Τ]*άδε ἐπράθη ἐπὶ τῆς* Ἐρεχθείδος *εβδόμης πρυτανευόσης·* [Γ]*αμελιῶνος εβδόμει ἱσταμένο.* The date is in one of the years immediately after 415/4. The double dating can only be reconciled in two ways: (i) if the year begins with 14 Skirophorion[1], and is leap-year; (ii) if it is leap-year[2], with the prytanies regulated as has been suggested.

(*b*) *C. I. A.* I. 189 *a* in 407/6 B.C. seems to make the Prytany-Year begin on Hecatombaion 2nd. Undoubtedly we should take this to mean that the Sacred Year was fallen a day behind the truth; and the Prytany-Year did not strike off a day, as the intercalation of a day in the Sacred Year would shortly[3] harmonize the two. The Prytany-Year would of course derive its extra day from not striking out enough in 408/7 B.C. to coincide with the Sacred Year, after the leap-year in 409/8 B.C. It should be noticed here as proving the independence of the two years that the Prytany-Year begins on the last day of Skirophorion in several years about[4] Aristotle's date: *C. I. A.* II. App. 175 *b* (331/0 B.C.), 179 (325/4 B.C.). On the other hand *C. I. A.* II. 190 (?321/0 B.C.) gives Hecatombaion 2nd as the beginning of the Prytany-Year.

(*c*) *C. I. A.* I. 59, cf. 188, lines 30, 35, 40, seems to shew that Aristotle Ἀθ. *πολ.* 43 § 2 does not apply to the 5th century.

(*d*) *C. I. A.* II. 54 line 49 shews that on the 30th day of the 2nd prytany of[5] 363/2, the tribe of the 3rd prytany was not known—evidently had not yet been drawn for. Compare with this hand-to-mouth method of regulating the prytanies, the inscription already noticed, *C. I. A.* IV. 2, 27 *b μῆνα δὲ ἐμβάλλειν Ἑκατομβαιῶνα τὸν νέον ἄρχοντα.* The archon and his advisers omitted to intercalate Poseideon; presumably observation shewed this omission to be a mistake; and Lampon (who moved this clause), one of the *ἐξηγηταί*, it would appear,

[1] But this hypothesis has nothing to say to *C. I. A.* I. 273 (see p. 73[1]).

[2] Unger (Müller, *Handb.* p. 752) gives 414/3 B.C. as a leap-year.

[3] Unger *ibid.* gives 407/6 B.C. as a year in which a day was intercalated.

[4] Arist. Ἀθ. *πολ.* 43 § 2 must hold here if anywhere.

[5] If Unger *ibid.* is right in making this a common year, the fact is even more remarkable, for only six days will remain of the 2nd prytany.

proposes[1] to secure the right date for beginning the year by having a second Hecatombaion. The date is somewhere about 440 B.C.

(5) There remains a passage in Dem. *Mid.* p. 542 §§ 86, 87 *βουλόμενος δὲ τὸ μέλλον λαθεῖν, φυλάξας τὴν τελευταίαν ἡμέραν τῶν διαιτῶν τὴν τοῦ θαργηλιῶνος ἢ τοῦ σκιροφοριῶνος γιγνομένην εἰς ἣν ὁ μὲν ἦλθε τῶν διαιτητῶν ὁ δ' οὐκ ἦλθε.....ἐκβάλλει καὶ ἀτιμοῖ τὸν διαιτητήν.* Dr Fennell *ad loc.* following Buttmann strangely explains this as referring to the *ἔνη καὶ νέα* of Thargelion, apparently forgetting that the Greek day began at sunset. It must mean either (1) that each *διαιτητὴς* tried his own list of cases through (Arist. *Ἀθ. πολ.* 53 § 5 *ἀναγκαῖον ἃς ἂν ἕκαστος λάχῃ διαίτας ἐκδιαιτᾶν*), his work of course then being at an end,—and in this year all had finished about Thargelion or Skirophorion—the list probably never taking the whole year, or (2) that the Diaitetai held office from, say, three weeks before the beginning of the Prytany-Year to the same time next year. Similarly of course the *ταμίαι* entered on office at the Panathenaia. If this be so, in ordinary years their office would begin about Skirophorion 10th, but, in the year after a leap-year, Thargelion 25th. Demosthenes would then be referring to the proximate date [? eight years back (§ 82): if so, Müller *Handb.* p. 752 gives that year, 357/6 B.C., as following a leap-year]. Were it not that everyone hitherto seems to have supposed the reference must be to a regular day on which the Diaitetai retired, I should certainly have supposed the first alternative to be correct: if the second be right, it supports our theory[2].

As a working hypothesis then we obtain this. In the earliest times the Athenians depended almost entirely on observation for the regulation of the year: this continued until the Council of the Five Hundred had been instituted, and

[1] For Lampon's "tacking" cf. Gilbert, *Handb. d. griech. Staats.* I^2. p. 329.

[2] We might have supposed that it was possible to restore *C. I. A.* IV. 1. 3, p. 139, l. 20 *τὰ οἰκήματα [τὰ ἐν τῷ Ἑκατ]ομπέδῳ ἀνοίγεν [τὸς] ταμίας μὴ ὀ[ψὲο ἢ μήνη τ]ὸ μηνὸ[ς] θεᾶσθαι τὰ[ς ἔν]ας ἡμέρας [τὰς πρὸ τῆς νομηνίας*, comparing for this practice Prof. J. Norman Lockyer in *Nature*, vol. XLV. p. 489: but *C. I. A.* I. 32, ll. 16, 17 seems to shew that there is a reference to the custody of money.

consequently the Prytany-Years were fitted in a rough way to the Sacred Year by spreading the intercalated month over two Prytany-Years—the determination that there must be a leap-year not being made till towards the middle of the year, after three or four prytanies had sat. As to the way in which the length of the prytanies within the year was fixed at this time, we can say nothing positive. The evidence seems to point to the conclusion that Böckh was right in supposing that the law (Arist. 'Aθ. πολ. 43 § 2) of four longer prytanies first of 36 days, followed by six shorter of 35, was not introduced in the 5th century. If we accept his view that the four which had the extra day were selected by the lot, we shall be inclined to believe also that the lot determined in leap-year which (if any) of the last five prytanies were 39 days instead of 38, and what tribes in the following year should have 38 or 39 days, what tribes 35 or 36. But we must wait[1] for further evidence before dogmatizing on this point. The first lengthened Prytany-Year was made to end with the Skirophorion full-moon probably, the next coming round again to Hecatombaion 1st.

This system was altered by Aristotle's day: then the Prytany-Years all regularly begin about Hecatombaion 1st, and the four extra days always go with the first four prytanies. If we could satisfy ourselves that the passage in the *Midias* referred to a regular, ordinary day of retirement for the Diaitetai, we might use that to guide us towards the date of the alteration; as it is, we must wait for more inscriptions.

Lastly we may notice that astronomical calculations substantially confirm our calendar. The Skirophorion full moon 427/6 was July 24th 5 h. 4 m. p.m.; the beginning of the Prytany-Year 426/5, then, should be July 23/4. Our inscription would then make the beginning of the next year July 28/9; and, combining its evidence with that of Thucydides, we have 354, 384, 355 as the length of the next three Sacred Years, so that they should begin on July 17/8, Aug. 5/6, and July 26/7.

[1] At present we can only make out this much. In 427/6 Acamantis came early (*C. I. A.* IV. 96, p. 23, compared with Thuc. III. 50) while Erechtheis was the VII. Prytany: and if the restorations on p. 63 are correct, in 426/5 Acamantis (VIII.) had 36 days, Erechtheis (X.) 38.

In 426/5 the New Moons[1] are Aug. 7th 7 h. 41 m. p.m., Sept. 6th 6 h. 1 m. a.m., Oct. 5th 7 h. 54 m. p.m., Nov. 4th 1 h. 6 m. p.m., Dec. 4th 6 h. 1 m. a.m., Jan. 3rd 3 h. 55 m. a.m., Feb. 1st 10 h. 10 m. p.m., March 2nd 1 h. 40 m. p.m., April 1st 2 h. 47 m. a.m., April 30th 1 h. 2 m. p.m., May 29th 9 h. 13 m. p.m., June 28th 2 h. 40 m. a.m. The possible[2] dates of φάσεις are Aug. 9/10, Sept. 7/8, Oct. 7/8, Nov. 6/7, Dec. 5/6, Jan. 4/5, Feb. 3/4, March 4/5, April 2/3, May 2/3, May 31/1 June, June 29/30. It would be dangerous to hazard the assertion, if it would not be erroneous to make it, that the Athenians counted the Phaseis as the Noumeniai: but A. Mommsen is clearly right in testing the Calendar by them; the neglect of this to some extent vitiates all Unger's reasoning (Müller's *Handbuch*, pp. 739, 754). The Noumeniai would naturally be put always 1 or 2 (or, as will be seen below, at first inaccurately 3) days before the Phaseis: still the Phaseis would be the main check on the correctness of the estimate of the New Moon, and when two or three[3] consecutive Phaseis were a day later than was calculated, an intercalation would probably be made. Hence we must use them to check our hypothetical reconstructions of the Calendar. This is *a priori* the rational course: and, as will be seen, it gives us a reconstruction of the Calendar which agrees with the facts we know.

Hecatombaion 426 B.C. had 29 days; so that if the Sacred Year began, as suggested, on Aug. 8/9, we shall have Skirophorion 15th = July 23/4, the beginning of the Prytany-Year. We have for the other months' beginning Sept. 6/7, Oct. 6/7, Nov. 4/5 (a day early on the φάσις), Dec. 4/5, Jan. 2/3 (day early), Feb. 1/2 (day early); March 1/2, two days early, would follow, but we

[1] For this I have used Ch. Paulus' excellent book *Tafeln zur Berechnung d. Mondphasen.*

[2] Julian Schmidt's *Beobachtungen* in A. Mommsen *üb. d. Zeit d. Olympien*, p. 32. The average interval between the σύνοδος and φάσις at Athens is 42 hours: by experiment I find that this means that 30 hours is the minimum interval before visibility.

[3] A little practical experimenting at devising a lunar calendar oneself by observation of new moons, and full moons, and comparing the results with the almanacs, shews that (1) it is feasible to work a calendar in this way, (2) that (owing to retardations and the like) it often happens that every other new moon will be a day late on the calendar for a time, yet no intercalation should be made.

should by the rule suggested intercalate a day, and our inscription suggests this—for only in that way will the New Year begin 371 days after the Prytany New Year of 426/5. We will make Gamelion then of 30 days, so that Anthesterion begins March 2/3 (one day early), and then follow April 1/2, April 30/1 May (one day early), May 30/31, June 28/29.

Without continuing the details of the process, it is sufficient to say that the dates given by this method for Hecatombaion 1st in 425/4 and 424/3, are in harmony with the results derived from the inscription; and that Skirophorion 14th in 424/3 (when a day[1] is intercalated, as I have argued that Thucydides, IV. 118 § 12, 119 § 1 and V. 19 § 1, suggests, in Skirophorion) falls on July 19/20, when the full moon falls July 20th 3 h. 25 m. p.m.

So far our theory seems to meet all difficulties. But 423/2 and 422/1 would by it be common years, while Thucydides and our inscription seem to make them indubitably years of 355 days. The solution of this difficulty, which naturally presents itself, is this. As civilization and science advance, the accurate determination of the new moon becomes more possible. We know that Meton had made some progress, and Aristophanes' jest becomes intelligible if we suppose that the solstice and the true new moon were now pretty exactly noted. Thucydides' *νουμηνία κατὰ σελήνην* too would point to the same thing. This assumption will explain at once why 423/2 and 422/1 were intercalated, and how it is that the range of Hecatombaion 1st now changes. If the Athenian new moons were formerly estimated two days early, and if owing to inaccurate determination of the solstice the years did not begin so near the true solstice as they should have done, we have not merely a theory that will coordinate the facts we know, but a rational order for Attic astronomy to have developed the Calendar in, if we suppose that in 423—1 these two days were got rid of by intercalation, and sometime after 422 the limit of Hecatombaion was brought nearer to the solstice.

[1] It should be noticed too that, in accordance with our rule, the consecution of 4 months at the end of 424/3 beginning a day in advance of what the *φάσις* would prescribe, would make Skirophorion to be intercalated.

With this[1] correction we have for New Years 428/7 July 29/30, 427/6 July 18/9, 426/5 Aug. 6/7, 425/4 July 26/7, 424/3 July 15/16, 423/2 Aug. 3/4, 422/1 July 24/5, 421/0 July 13/4.

From this date, if our theory is sound, the Calendar will closely follow the true New Moons—as the Athenians have learnt to determine them—and if an Octaeteris is used, it is not used servilely, so that the limit of Hecatombaion was not permitted to move away from the solstice. This explains the subsequent history of the Calendar, when owing to the prevalence of the Roman Calendar after the Conquest, the Octaeteris was allowed to go wrong, because it was not of vital importance to keep it true: and thus from 130 B.C. onwards, it becomes every 150 years a month later than before.

I add two notes on cognate matters:

(1) In Synkellos p. 370 we read that the lunar month contained 29 d. 12 h. and λγ′γ′; the lunar year 354 d. 8 h. μ′, *i.e.* 10 d. 21 h. ε′ shorter than the solar year; and that an Olympiad contained 1417 d. ὥρας ια′ λεπτὰ κε′ (so the best MSS.), and $1\frac{1}{2}$ months. Unger finds these statements so unintelligible that he emends all but that about the lunar year. Gutschmid emends all. But the truth is that we have here an unusual subdivision of the hour into *forty-five parts*, making 360×3 *in the day*. Subsequently Ptolemy subdivided *the hour* into 360×10 parts. We thus have 29 d. 12 h. $\frac{33\frac{1}{3}}{45} = 44\frac{4}{9}$ m.; 354 d. 8 h. $\frac{40}{45} = 53\frac{1}{3}$ m.;

[1] In this case the full moons of Skirophorion 427/6 and 424/3 will fall on the 17th and 16th. Experiments at a lunar calendar prove that it must fall on the 16th at least occasionally, where the φάσεις are mainly relied upon to check the calendar. And an intercalation followed soon after Skirophorion 427/6. On the other hand, Skirophorion 14th began the Prytany-Year 411/0 B.C., and this perhaps indicates that more scientific methods had been then introduced. It should be added as a last proof that these dates are correct, that working backwards and intercalating one day, as Thuc. II. 28 requires, we have the year 432/1, beginning on July 13/4. Skirophorion 13th then is June 26/7, as Skirophorion contains 30 days. Meton's cycle began on that day, the day of the solstice as given by Ptolemy (not, as Unger supposes, with Hecatombaion 432/1, nor, as Mommsen, 433/2. Diodorus XII. 26 is quite explicit on the point). The true full moon that year would be Skirophorion 16th.

10 d. 21 h. $6\frac{2}{3}$ m.; 1417 d. 11 h. $\frac{2}{4}\frac{5}{5} = 33\frac{1}{3}$ m. It is easy to shew that this is correct by simple multiplication.

(2) In *Schol. vet.* Pind. *Ol.* 3, 33 cod. vratisl. read *περιόδου συνέθηκεν ατη ἡμερῶν* (*ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ* MS.) *ἄρχειν νουμηνίαν μηνὸς ὃς Θωσυθίας ἐν Ἠλιδι ὀνομάζεται περὶ ὃν τροπαὶ ἡλίου γίνονται χειμεριναί, i.e.* To find the first day of the Olympic games, observe the new moon next after the winter solstice following the last games, and count 1308 days. If this be right, one month in the Elean Calendar was generally intercalated after every other Olympic Feast, before the New Year (which began after the winter solstice). Probably one month was also generally inserted in the 2nd year of each Olympiad. As we have seen, we cannot be sure how near the estimated *νουμηνία* was brought to the *φάσις*, and there is some dispute as to what day of the month the Olympic games began on, and on what the Olympic full moon fell: but we have

431 January 8th 10 h. 5 m. a.m. new moon; visible 9/10; first day of games 428 August 9/10, reckoning from the Phasis.

428 December 26th 4 h. 49 m. a.m. new moon; visible 27/8; first of games 424 July 27/8—and so on.

The passage should continue: *καὶ πρῶτα Ὀλύμπια ἄγεται ἡ μηνί, ἑνὸς δὲ ὄντος* (*sc. τοῦ περιόδου*), *διαφερόντως τῇ ὥρᾳ* (*sc. ἄγεται*) *τὰ μὲν ἀρχόμενα τῆς ὀπώρας τὰ δὲ ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὸν ἄρκτουρον.*

T. NICKLIN.

THE TREBBIA AND LAKE TRASIMENE.

THE maps published with this paper are taken from those of the Italian Government Survey.

The Edition of Polybius which has been used is Dindorf's text revised by Büttner-Wobst (Teubner 1882), the numbering being that of the chapters and paragraphs in that Edition.

The edition of Livy which has been used is Madvig's Text.

The passage of the Alps has been exhaustively dealt with by Mr Douglas Freshfield.

Mr Strachan-Davidson has practically said the last word on Cannae in his "Selections from Polybius."

Polybius tells us that Hannibal started from the Rhone with 38000 infantry and 8000 cavalry, P. III. 60. nearly half of whom perished in the passage of the Alps. Roughly speaking, then, the force with which he arrived on the plain of N. Italy amounted to something like 20000 infantry and 5000 cavalry. This force was, of course, largely recruited after his arrival there by fighting men obtained from Celts of the Northern plain. After allowing his force several days' rest in which to recover from the toils and hardships of the passage, he invested and took the capital town of the Taurini. This was probably on the site of the P. III. 60. 8. later Augusta Taurinorum which occupied a portion of the site of the modern Turin. It lay i.e. on the upper plain of the Po, on the river itself, and on the N. side of the latter.

Hannibal's ruthless treatment of the captured city spread terror through the whole region of the P. III. 60. 10. Po, and the population in the neighbourhood came over to him immediately, while the Celts of the plain showed anxiety to do the same. The interposition of the Roman army, however, pre-

vented them from carrying out their wish. In consequence of this Hannibal determined that he must march on the Lower Po.

P. III. 61. 1. Προθέμενος δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ τὸν Πόπλιον ἀκούων ἤδη διαβεβηκέναι τὸν Πάδον μετὰ τῶν δυνάμεων καὶ σύνεγγυς εἶναι etc.

The place at which P. Scipio crossed the river is not mentioned, but the crossing probably took place at Placentia. Hannibal did not cross the river, but marched along the N. side of it. Scipio would be able to reckon on his doing this, because high ground, a northern extension of the Apennines, abuts on the S. bank of the Po from Turin to the neighbourhood of the modern Alessandria, and any march along the S. bank would be rendered very difficult by the numerous small and steep valleys of the streams which cut through this high ground to join the main river.

P. III. 61. 8. The Romans, on hearing that Hannibal was in Italy, sent for Tiberius Sempronius and his army. He was at Lilybaeum on his way to Africa itself with the intention of attacking Carthage. Tiberius lost no time, but ordered his land army to proceed with all speed to Ariminum, where it was to meet him on a certain day. His idea evidently was that Hannibal would probably move Southward along the easy East coast route, instead of effecting, as he subsequently did, the somewhat difficult passage of the Apennines of the north, and involving himself in the partly mountainous, partly marshy region of Etruria. Ariminum is a very strong strategic position, standing, as it does, at the point where the plain of the Po ends, and where the Apennines, after skirting that plain on the south, first strike the Adriatic coast, leaving but a narrow practicable passage.

Ariminum.

P. III. 62. 1. Hannibal and Scipio were now drawing near to one another. Both were on the N. bank of the Po, Hannibal going E., Scipio W. Scipio crossed the Ticino by a bridge which he caused to be constructed, and the two armies came in sight of one another at some point from 15 to 25 miles W. of that river. The armies encamped and waited. Livy tells us two facts that Polybius does not mention: (1) that

P. III. 64. 1.
v. L. XXI. 43.

L. XXI. 45. 2, 3.

Hannibal sent Maharbal with a body of Numidian cavalry, 500 in number, to plunder the lands of the allies of the Roman people, ordering them to spare the Gauls as much as possible: (2) that Scipio's camp was 5 miles from Victumuli.

In what direction this cavalry raid was made it is impossible to say. There is no mention of a crossing of the Po, and therefore it was probably on the N. side of the river. The terms in which the incident is related would seem to indicate that the raid was made into a district with a mixed population, of whom some were Gauls.

While the armies were in this position the first cavalry skirmish took place. The general result was to show Scipio that the Roman Cavalry was inferior to that of the Carthaginians. He consequently decided to withdraw to ground where a cavalry attack on the part of the enemy would be impossible.

P. III. 65. 3. v. L. XXI. 46. 3.

Πόπλιος μὲν οὖν ἀναζεύξας προῆγε διὰ τῶν πεδίων ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Πάδου γέφυραν, σπεύδων φθάσαι διαβιβάσας τὰ στρατόπεδα. θεωρῶν γὰρ τοὺς μὲν τόπους ἐπιπέδους ὄντας, τοὺς δ' ὑπεναντίους ἱπποκρατοῦντας, αὐτὸν δὲ βαρυνόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ τραύματος, εἰς ἀσφαλὲς ἔκρινε δεῖν ἀποκαταστῆσαι τὰς δυνάμεις. Ἀννίβας δὲ μέχρι μέν τινος ὑπέλαβε τοῖς πεζοῖς στρατοπέδοις αὐτοὺς διακινδυνεύσειν· συνιδὼν δὲ κεκινηκότας ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς, ἕως μὲν τοῦ πρώτου ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τούτῳ γεφύρας ἐπηκολούθει, καταλαβὼν δὲ τὰς μὲν πλείστας τῶν σανίδων ἀνεσπασμένας, τοὺς δὲ φυλάττοντας τὴν γέφυραν ἔτι περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ὑπολειπομένους, τούτων μὲν ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο, σχεδὸν ἑξακοσίων ὄντων τὸν ἀριθμόν·

P. III. 66. 1.

In the words ἕως μὲν τοῦ πρώτου ποταμοῦ, the word πρώτου is doubtful. It is omitted in many MSS., and its omission is, from a topographical point of view, probably correct. The bridge is almost certainly that in the neighbourhood of Placentia, as Livy states it to be.

τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀκούων ἤδη πολὺ προειληφέναι, μεταβαλόμενος αὖθις εἰς τἀναντία παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πορείαν, σπεύδων ἐπὶ τόπον εὐγεφύρωτον ἀφικέσθαι τοῦ Πάδου. καταλύσας δὲ δευτεραῖος καὶ γεφυρώσας

L. XXI. 47. 3. P. III. 66. 5.

τοῖς ποταμιοις πλοίοις τὴν διάβασιν Ἀσδρούβᾳ μὲν ἐπέταξε διακομίζειν τὸ πλῆθος, αὐτὸς δὲ διαβὰς εὐθέως ἐχρημάτιζε τοῖς παραγεγονόσι πρεσβευταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν σύνεγγυς τόπων.

Scipio is now on the S. side of the Po. Hannibal has marched back up the river for a space of two days, and has also crossed to the S. side. As the junction of the Trebbia with the main stream is only $3\frac{1}{4}$ kilometres from the town of Piacenza, Hannibal's passage must have been effected a long way above, i.e. W. of, the Trebbia mouth.

P. III. 66. 8. ἀποδεξάμενος δὲ τοὺς παρόντας φιλανθρώπως καὶ κομισάμενος τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκ τοῦ πέραν, προῆγε παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν, τὴν ἐναντίαν ποιούμενος τῇ πρόσθεν παρόδῳ· κατὰ ῥοῦν γὰρ ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πορείαν, σπεύδων συνάψαι τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις. ὁ δὲ Πόπλιος, περαιωθεὶς τὸν Πάδον καὶ στρατοπεδεύσας περὶ πόλιν Πλακεντίαν, ἥτις ἦν ἀποικία Ῥωμαίων, ἅμα μὲν αὐτὸν ἐθεράπευε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τραυματίας, ἅμα δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς ἀσφαλὲς ἀπηρεῖσθαι νομίζων, ἦγε τὴν ἡσυχίαν. Ἀννίβας δὲ παραγενόμενος δευτεραῖος ἀπὸ τῆς διαβάσεως ἐγγὺς τῶν πολεμίων, τῇ τρίτῃ παρέταξε τὴν δύναμιν ἐν συνόψει τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις. οὐδενὸς δὲ σφίσιν ἀντεξάγοντος, κατεστρατοπέδευσε λαβὼν περὶ πεντήκοντα στάδια τὸ μεταξὺ διάστημα τῶν στρατοπέδων.

Hitherto the narrative of the campaign has not presented any extraordinary difficulties. The passage above quoted, however, and the topographical details which are contained in the passages which immediately follow have been a fruitful source of discussion and disagreement among those who have tried to explain the topography of this portion of the campaign. The main difficulty lies, perhaps, not in the topographical detail which is given by Livy and Polybius, but in that which is omitted by both authors.

R. Trebbia. It will be well to give a description of the course of the Trebbia, before entering upon any discussion or explanation of the difficulties to which allusion has been made.

It will be seen on reference to the map that the Trebbia rises in the Apennines at a point not very far distant from Genoa. The road, which follows the course of the stream valley

and goes over the range to the Ligurian coast in the neighbourhood of Genoa, is one of the easiest passages through the Apennines, and must have been in frequent use in early times. It is possible that this fact had something to do with determining the position which Scipio took up immediately before the battle. The upper course of the stream is in a deep valley in the foot-hills of the main range until the village of Rivergaro is reached. *Down to this point there is no level ground of any appreciable extent in the river valley, nor any ground, in fact, on which cavalry could possibly be used effectively.* It will, then, be easily understood that the battle could not have taken place higher up the river than Rivergaro. This place lies on the right or E. bank of the stream. The hills which have up to this point lined this side of the river suddenly cease, and the flat alluvial plain of N. Italy begins. From Rivergaro the river flows due N. to a point near the modern Gossolengo. The slope of the alluvial land from Rivergaro to Gossolengo is on the average about 1 in 140, the distance between the two places being 10 kilometres, or about $6\frac{1}{4}$ miles. The regularity of the slope and its slight character render the ground to all appearance flat. The general level of the plain is some 30 or 40 feet above that of the river, and it may consequently be concluded that the actual stream as far as Gossolengo has not within the historical period been further E. than it is at the present time. For 3 kilometres, or nearly two miles, below Gossolengo the stream continues to flow due N., after which it turns N.N.E., and enters the Po at a distance of 10 kilometres or $6\frac{1}{4}$ miles below the said Gossolengo. It will thus be seen that the hills on the E. bank of the river are, at their nearest point, $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the mouth of it.

Right or E. Bank of the Lower Trebbia.

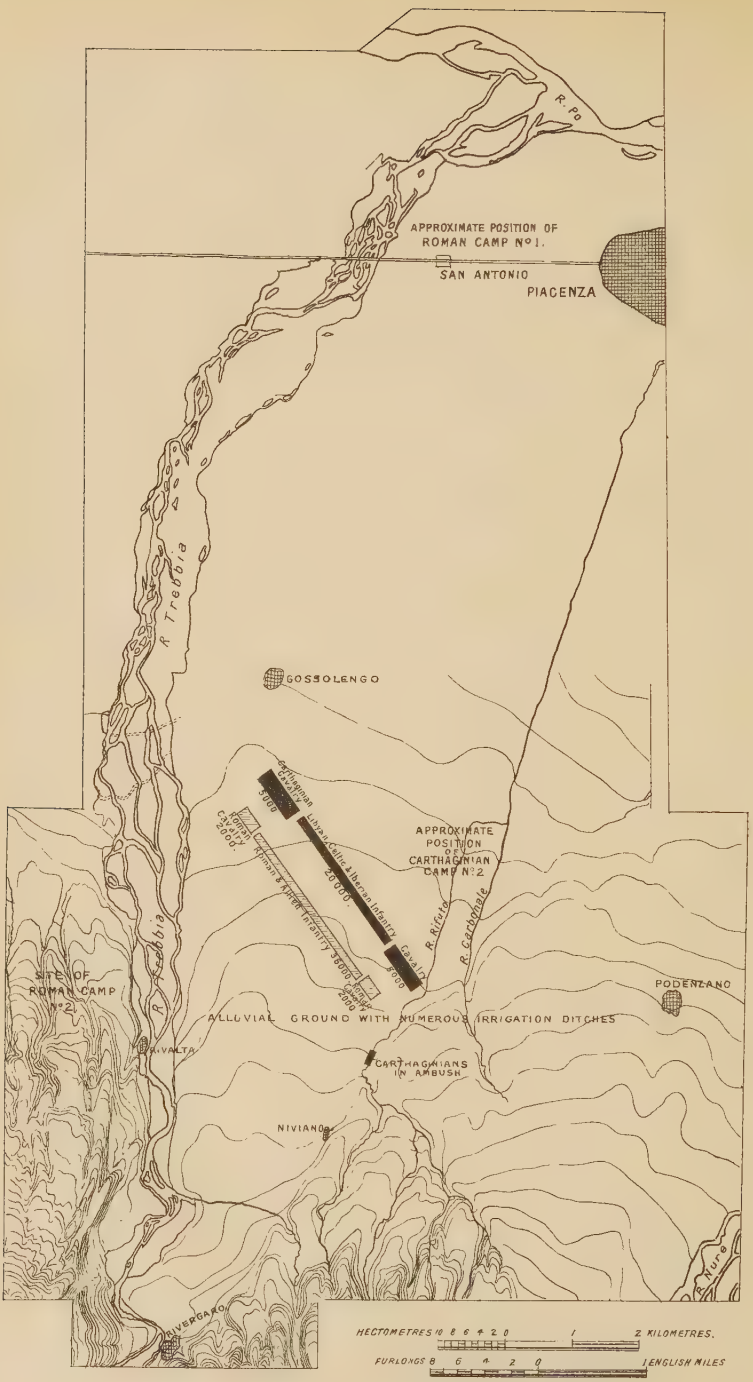
On the left or W. bank the state of things is not quite the same as on the E. bank. Starting from a point opposite to Rivergaro it will be noticed that a long flat-topped ridge extends down this side of the river for a distance of $4\frac{1}{2}$ kilometres or about $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles, as far as the neighbourhood of Rivalta. This ridge faces the low-lying flat ground on the opposite side of the

Left or W. Bank of the Lower Trebbia.

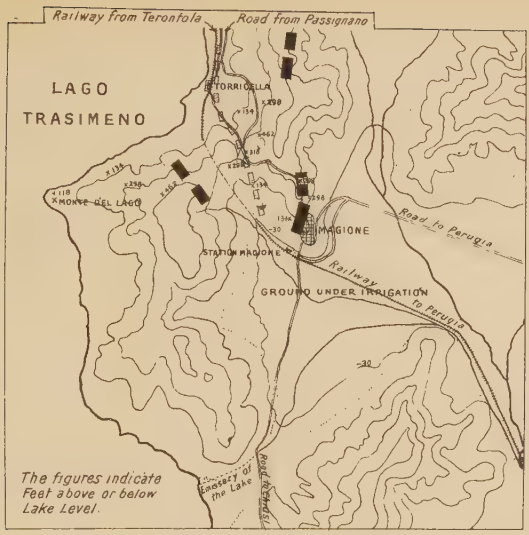
river. Now, whatever obscurity there may be in the accounts which Polybius and Livy give of the operations leading up to the battle, it seems quite clear that just before the battle took place the Romans were encamped on high ground on one side of the river, while the Carthaginians were on the opposite side of the stream, apparently at some short distance from it. The actual fighting took place, of course, on the side on which the Carthaginians were posted, and on ground on which cavalry could act effectively. It will be necessary to recur to these facts with more detail in dealing with the actual incidents of the battle, but the general position is quite clear. Now the part of the river between Rivergaro and Rivalta is the only part of the course of the Trebbia where we find high ground on one side of the stream, and a level expanse on the other, and we are led to the apparently irresistible conclusion that the Roman camp was on the flat-topped ridge, and that the battle took place on the E. or right bank, on the low-lying ground below, and on the same side of the stream as Rivergaro. This would place the middle of the battle field about 8 miles from the junction of the Trebbia with the Po. The extremity of the flat-topped ridge above referred to is about 16 kilometres or 10 miles above the junction, measured along the left or west bank of the stream. The site of the ancient Placentia was identical with that of the modern Piacenza, i.e. was about 3 kilometres or nearly 2 miles E. of the present junction of the two streams. It is not possible, looking at the contour of the neighbouring ground, that the course of the river above Gossolengo can have varied to any appreciable extent within historical times. It is possible that in the last 6¼ miles of its course below Gossolengo, where it flows through absolutely flat low-lying ground, there may have been some deviation, but it is in the highest degree improbable that that variation has been of such a character as to sensibly alter the local topography.

The Trebbia.

The Trebbia, like all the affluents of the Po, is a rapid stream flowing in several channels, which continually join and separate again, over a broad stony bed, apparently out of proportion to the size of the river. Under ordinary circumstances the volume of water is not great, and



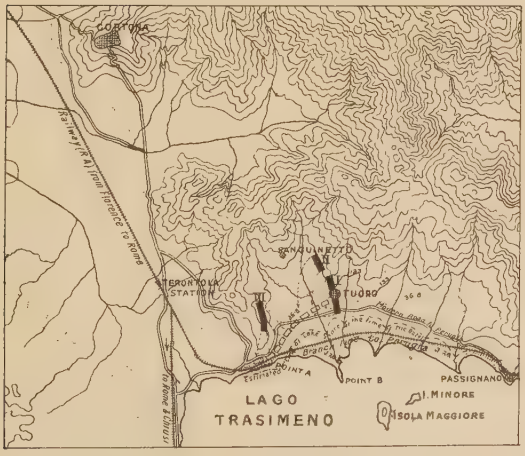
THE LOWER BASIN OF THE RIVER TREBBIA.



BATTLE OF LAKE TRASIMENE,
SKETCH MAP OF CONJECTURED EASTERN SITE.

HECTOMETRES 10 8 6 4 2 0 1 2 KILOMETRES

FURLONGS 8 6 4 2 0 1 ENGLISH MILES.



Position of Carthaginian Troops
I. Iberians & Libyans.
II. Balearians & Spearmen.
III. Cavalry & Celts.

BATTLE OF LAKE TRASIMENE,
NORTHERN SITE.

HECTOMETRES 10 0 1 2 3 4 KILOMETRES.

FURLONGS 6 4 2 0 1 2 3 ENGLISH MILES

the stream might be crossed without any great difficulty at most parts of its course.

It will be remembered that on the day of the battle the Romans crossed it although it was higher than usual owing to a freshet due to a storm in the mountains. The ease with which it may be crossed is very significant in view of Polybius' account of the operations preceding the battle. He does undoubtedly omit to mention the passage of the stream by Hannibal, and even its interposition between the two camps when the Romans were *περὶ Πλακεντίαν.*

It will now be well to recur to the course of events as related by Polybius.

We left Publius Scipio encamped *περὶ Πλακεντίαν* on the S. side of the Po. Hannibal, meanwhile, having crossed the Po higher up, and having marched down the Right or S. bank of the river, has come near to the Romans and encamped within sight of them:— Roman Camp 1.

οὐδενὸς δὲ σφίσιν ἀντεξάγοντος, κατεστρατοπέδευσε λαβὼν περὶ πεντήκοντα στάδια τὸ μεταξὺ διάστημα τῶν στρατοπέδων. Carthaginian Camp 1.

What *περὶ Πλακεντίαν* exactly means cannot be said, but the expression *τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς ἀσφαλὲς ἀπηρεῖσθαι νομίζων,* seems to imply that Scipio took up his position quite close to Placentia. Scipio was almost certainly to the E. of the Trebbia, probably on the ground between the city of Placentia and the modern San Antonio. Hannibal's camp was 50 stades distant, i.e. 10000 yards, or nearly 6 miles. There is no mention of his having crossed the Trebbia, therefore the words in P. III. 66. 10 and 11 seem to imply that he marched his army up to the W. bank of the Trebbia, which would be in sight of the Roman camp, but, finding that no one came out to meet him, retired and encamped to the W. of the river some miles away from the stream. Roman Camp 1. Carthaginian Camp 1.

Livy's account does not differ essentially from that of Polybius, save that he represents Hannibal as having taken up his camp, and *then* having offered battle to the Romans. He says that the Carthaginian camp was 6 miles from Placentia. L. XXI. 47. 8. Carthaginian Camp 1.

P. III. 67. 8. L. XXI. 48. 3. Publius Scipio, alarmed at the treacherous revolt of the Celts in his camp, and their desertion to Hannibal, now determined to move to higher ground.

Movement to Roman Camp 2. P. III. 67. 9.... 68. 8. διόπερ ἐπιγενομένης τῆς νυκτὸς ὑπὸ τὴν ἑωθινὴν ἀναζεύξας, ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πορείαν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Τρεβίαν ποταμὸν καὶ τοὺς τούτῳ συνάπτοντας γεωλόφους, πιστεύων τῇ τε τῶν τόπων ὀχυρότητι καὶ τοῖς παροικοῦσι τῶν συμμάχων. Ἀννίβας δὲ τὴν ἀναζυγὴν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνούς, παραυτίκα μὲν τοὺς Νομαδικοὺς ἱππεῖς ἐξαπέστελλε, μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους, τούτοις δ' ἐκ ποδὸς τὴν δύναμιν ἔχων αὐτὸς εἵπετο κατόπιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Νομάδες εἰς ἔρημον τὴν στρατοπεδείαν ἐμπεσόντες ταύτην ἐνεπίμπρασαν. ὃ δὴ καὶ σφόδρα συνήνεγκε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ὡς εἴπερ οὗτοι κατὰ πόδας ἀκολουθήσαντες συνῆψαν ταῖς ἀποσκευαῖς, πολλοὺς ἂν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων ἐν τοῖς ἐπιπέδοις συνέβη διαφθαρῆναι. νῦν δ' οἱ πλείους ἔφθασαν διαβάντες τὸν Τρεβίαν ποταμόν· τῶν δὲ καταλειφθέντων ἐπὶ τῆς οὐραγίας οἱ μὲν διεφθάρησαν, οἱ δὲ ζῶντες ἑάλωσαν ὑπὸ τῶν Καρχηδονίων. Πόπλιος μὲν οὖν διαβὰς τὸν προειρημένον ποταμὸν ἐστρατοπέδευσε περὶ τοὺς πρώτους λόφους, καὶ περιλαβὼν τάφρῳ καὶ χάρακι τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἀνεδέχετο μὲν τὸν Τιβέριον καὶ τὰς μετ' ἐκείνου δυνάμεις· ἐθεράπευε δ' αὐτὸν ἐπιμελῶς, σπουδάζων, εἰ δύναιτο κοινωνῆσαι τοῦ μέλλοντος κινδύνου. Ἀννίβας δὲ περὶ τετταράκοντα σταδίους ἀποσχὼν τῶν πολεμίων, αὐτοῦ κατεστρατοπέδευσε.

L. XXI. 48. 4 ...8. Livy's account of the operations above mentioned is practically identical with that of Polybius, and need not be quoted at any length. It will be well to take the movements of the Romans and Carthaginians separately.

Roman Camp 1. The Romans moved from their camp περὶ Πλακεντίαν towards the Trebbia and the hills which are called in one passage above quoted τοὺς τούτῳ (Trebbia)

Roman Camp 2. συνάπτοντας γεωλόφους, and, later on, in the same passage, τοὺς πρώτους λόφους. It is also twice asserted that they crossed the Trebbia to arrive at them. Now

Roman Camp 1. it is many times more probable that the Roman camp described as περὶ Πλακεντίαν was on the same side of the Trebbia as Placentia itself, than that it was

situated W. of the Trebbia with that river between it and the town in the neighbourhood of which, owing to its offering "a secure position to rest upon," Scipio fixed his camp. It has already been said that the river in its ordinary state would offer no very serious obstacle to its passage, but at the season during which these events took place a sudden rise would always have to be reckoned on as a possibility, and it seems in the highest degree improbable that such a commander as Scipio would leave such a stream between his camp and the point of support on which he relied.

P. III. 66. 9.

In Mommsen's History of Rome, "The popular Edition," Vol. II. p. 117, is the following note on the Battle of the Trebbia :—

"Polybius' account of the battle is quite clear. If Placentia lay on the right bank of the Trebbia where it falls into the Po, and if the battle was fought on the left bank, while the Roman encampment was pitched upon the right (both of which points have been disputed, but are nevertheless indisputable), the Roman soldiers must certainly have passed the Trebbia in order to gain Placentia, as well as to gain their camp."

Roman Camp 2.

Professor Mommsen evidently assumes that the Roman camp described as περὶ Πλακεντίαν was on the opposite side of the river Trebbia to Placentia, which town lay, as is probable, 2¼ miles to the E. of that river.

Roman Camp 1.

It will be seen, on reading his note further, that, adopting this hypothesis, Professor Mommsen is compelled to assume that the 10000 who cut their way through the Carthaginians and reached Placentia *did* cross the river in so doing, though Polybius does not mention the fact. Prof. Mommsen adds "It may even have been the case, although it cannot be proved, that a bridge led over the Trebbia at that point (i.e. near Placentia), and that the tête du pont on the other bank was occupied by the garrison of Placentia."

With respect to this view of the battle the following objections will occur to the mind of anyone who studies Polybius' account :—

(1) That the account is still clearer if the opposite view be adopted, for then the 10000 would not have crossed the river in their retreat to Placentia, and consequently it is not necessary to assume an important omission in the account.

(2) The fact, which has been already stated, that Publius Scipio in fixing his camp, which is described as περὶ Πλακεντίαν, would have been exceedingly unlikely to leave such a river as the Trebbia at this season of the year between himself and the town which is expressly described as his point d'appui.

(3) That the nature of the ground along the Trebbia valley does not admit of the assumption that the battle was fought upon the left bank. This has already been dealt with at some length.

(4) It seems somewhat gratuitous to assume absolute contradiction between the accounts of Polybius and Livy, where no contradiction can be proved to exist.

Roman Camp 2.

The Roman camp, as the ground when taken in conjunction with the description of the battle shows with all but absolute certainty, must have been on the top and sides of the flat-topped ridge which has been described as running down the west bank of the river from a point opposite Rivergaro to the neighbourhood of Rivalta.

Carthaginian Camp 2.

The distance given, viz. 40 stades or about 8000 yards, would locate Hannibal's camp in the neighbourhood of the modern Podenzano, not far from where the high ground on the R. or E. bank of the Trebbia rises from the plain.

P. III. 68. 8. L. XXI. 48. 8.

Polybius goes on to say that the Carthaginians were plentifully supplied with provisions by the Celts who had come over to the Carthaginian side. Livy on the contrary represents the Carthaginians as sorely pressed for provisions.

Junction of the two Roman armies.

We now come to the great difficulty in the history of the operations on the Trebbia. Polybius' account of the matter is as follows:—

P. III. 68. 13. *ἀθροισθέντων δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατὰ τὸν ὅρκον εἰς Ἀρίμινον, ἀναλαβὼν αὐτοὺς ὁ στρατηγὸς προῆγε, σπεύδων συνάψαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πόπλιον. συμμίξας δὲ καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύσας παρ' αὐτοῖς*, etc.

How are we to account for Sempronius being able to slip by Hannibal, who lay on the E. side of the river, to reach Scipio who was encamped on the W. side? If the topography of the Trebbia valley were not absolutely conclusive as to the position of the Roman camp and the site of the battle, the fact, taken by itself, of the Roman army from Ariminum being able to join the other army on the Trebbia unhindered by Hannibal would create at first sight a strong presumption that the Roman camp was on the E. side of that stream.

Roman Camp 2.

Roman Camp 2.

L. XXI. 51 ad fin.

Livy mentions the march even more briefly, but neither he nor Polybius gives any description of the route taken.

It is in the highest degree improbable that such a general as Hannibal would fail to see how important it was for him to

prevent this junction at all costs. It matters not on which side of the Trebbia Hannibal was. Had he known beforehand of Sempronius being on his way to effect the junction, it seems most unlikely that he would have allowed him to advance unopposed, and we should have expected him to run almost any risk to prevent him from joining Scipio.

There are, however, two incidental facts mentioned by Polybius which afford a possible explanation of the difficulty.

1. He says "*κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς Ἀννίβας πραξικοπήσας πόλιν Κλαστίδιον*," etc. P. III. 69. 1.

The time referred to is the time at which the junction between the two Roman armies was effected.

Clastidium has been identified by means of inscriptions with the modern Castoggio. It was situated considerably W. of the Trebbia and south of the Po. If, as Polybius seems to imply, Hannibal was engaged on the attack on this place at the time Sempronius came up, the way of the latter to Scipio's camp would be open, unless Hannibal had got previous intelligence of his movements in time for him to hurry back to prevent the junction. The second fact mentioned by Polybius may account for his ignorance.

2. The Celts who lay between Hannibal and Ariminum seem to have been of more than doubtful friendliness to him, as is evidenced by the fact that he chastised them immediately before the battle on the Trebbia. That the Celts thus chastised were on the Carthaginian (i.e. presumably the E.) side of the Trebbia we know, for Polybius mentions that Sempronius crossed that river in going to their assistance. P. III. 69. 9. These Celts, unfriendly to the Carthaginians, would act as a screen to the Roman army in its advance from Ariminum to the Trebbia, and would render it exceedingly difficult for Hannibal to get any news of an army advancing from the E.

Taking the circumstances that are mentioned, the conclusion to be drawn from them is that Sempronius must have managed to get near to the Trebbia without Hannibal having heard of his approach, and it seems further possible that in consequence of this ignorance the latter was at Clastidium with the major

portion of his force, if not the whole of it, at the very time at which Sempronius arrived.

Carthaginian Camp 2. Roman Camp 2.

Even under the supposition that the Carthaginian camp lay west of the Trebbia and the Roman on the east, an hypothesis which, as has been said, the ground will not admit of, we have to assume the same ignorance on the part of Hannibal. It is evident that, owing to his great superiority in cavalry, the whole plain country was open to him and closed to Publius Scipio, and had Tiberius come up, as we must suppose he did, along the plain, there was nothing to prevent Hannibal, if forewarned of his coming, from crossing the Trebbia to prevent the junction.

Such are the possible explanations of the difficulty. They may or may not be correct. There is much in connection with this campaign on which it is possible to speak with certainty, but on this particular point certainty is impossible. Both historians omit important details, but unfortunately such omissions are too common in ancient historians, when writing on the operations of war, for us to be very much surprised at the evident gap in the history in the present case.

L. xxi. 48. 8, 9. P. iii. 68. 8.

Reference has been already made to the fact that Polybius and Livy are not in agreement with respect to the Carthaginian commissariat supplies. There was a large store of corn in Clastidium, and the fact of Hannibal's going out of his way, as it were, to attack the place, seems to incline the balance of probability on the side of Livy rather than of Polybius.

P. iii. 69. 5, 6.

The next incident of the campaign was the attack on the Carthaginian plunderers. Polybius relates it as follows:—

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συνθεωρήσας τινὰς τῶν Κελτῶν, οἳ κατῴκουν μεταξὺ τοῦ Πάδου καὶ τοῦ Τρεβία ποταμοῦ, πεποιημένους μὲν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν, διαπεμπομένους δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, καὶ πεπεισμένους τῷ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ τὴν παρ' ἀμφοῖν ἀσφάλειαν αὑτοῖς ὑπάρξειν, ἐξαποστέλλει πεζοὺς μὲν δισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ Κελτοὺς καὶ Νομάδας εἰς χιλίους, προστάξας ἐπιδραμεῖν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν.

Livy's account of the matter, which is not quite so detailed as that of Polybius, makes it quite clear that the Celts attacked and plundered by the Carthaginians were on the same side of the river Trebbia as the latter, for he says that Sempronius "while his colleague hesitated, sent his own cavalry with a thousand infantry attached to it, almost all light-armed, to protect the Gauls beyond the Trebbia." L. xxi. 52. 9.

The Trebbia and Po are so nearly at right angles to one another that the words *μεταξὺ τοῦ Πάδου καὶ τοῦ Τρεβία ποταμοῦ* might apply to either of the angles formed by the streams. The use of *διαπεμπομένους* seems to show, what indeed appears more clearly later in the account, that the Celts referred to were on the Carthaginian or E. side of the Trebbia.

τῶν δὲ πραξάντων τὸ προσταχθὲν καὶ πολλὴν περιβαλομένων λείαν, εὐθέως οἱ Κελτοὶ παρῆσαν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν Ῥωμαίων, δεόμενοι σφίσι βοηθεῖν. Τιβέριος δὲ καὶ πάλαι ζητῶν ἀφορμὴν τοῦ πράττειν τι, τότε λαβὼν πρόφασιν ἐξαπέστειλε τῶν μὲν ἱππέων τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος, πεζοὺς δὲ σὺν τούτοις ἀκοντιστὰς εἰς χιλίους. σπουδῇ δὲ τούτων προσμιξάντων πέραν τοῦ Τρεβία καὶ διαμαχομένων τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς λείας, ἐτράπησαν οἱ Κελτοὶ σὺν τοῖς Νομάσι καὶ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ἐπὶ τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἐποιοῦντο χάρακα. ταχὺ δὲ συννοήσαντες τὸ γιγνόμενον οἱ προκαθήμενοι τῆς τῶν Καρχηδονίων παρεμβολῆς ἐντεῦθεν ταῖς ἐφεδρείαις ἐβοήθουν τοῖς πιεζομένοις· οὗ γενομένου τραπέντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πάλιν ἐποιοῦντο τὴν ἀπόλυσιν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν παρεμβολήν. P. III. 69. 7.

Further details follow, but the whole account points clearly to the fact that all the incidents of the engagement took place on the Carthaginian, i.e. apparently on the E. side of the river.

Both authors describe the exultation and confidence of the consul Sempronius at the issue of this engagement. Hannibal was only too eager to second his desire to fight. Scipio's policy of masterly inactivity in a position unassailable by cavalry meant, if persisted in, ruin to Hannibal, and the latter's anxiety would seem to show that Livy is more correct in describing his commissariat supplies as scanty than Polybius in describing them as abundant. It has been the fashion of late years to cry up Polybius as a military P. III. 70. L. xxi. 53.

historian at the expense of Livy, but in respect to the operations on the Trebbia, it is difficult to say that one author displays more accuracy than the other. If anything, the evidence is slightly in favour of Livy where the accounts of the two authors differ.

Scipio had adopted the strategy which was destined in the end to prove the ruin of Hannibal's expedition to Italy. Neither Polybius nor Livy represents Scipio's action as due to any other motive than a desire to get out of the reach of Hannibal's cavalry. It would be, however, very unsafe to suppose that, because no other motive is mentioned, no other motive existed. It is not difficult to see, after reading the two accounts of the campaign, that the strategic motives which influenced the generals on either side are but imperfectly understood by the two authors. With tactical questions, however, they seem perfectly au fait.

In penetrating into Italy Hannibal had accomplished a marvellous but very risky exploit. How risky it was we see from the fact that, whenever during the war he is opposed by a really capable general, his position becomes almost desperate. And so it was at this moment. He had no organized commissariat. He was dependent for supplies upon foragers and what was given him by such Celts as were friendly. Two conditions were consequently necessary for success :—

(1) a fertile country,

(2) the practical command of it.

So long as he was in the plains of N. Italy these two conditions were fulfilled: the country was fertile, and his superiority in cavalry gave him command of the plain. But he could not remain there for ever. The burden of supporting the army for a lengthened period would alienate the friendly Celts, and under continual foraging and consequent insecurity, supplies would become less and less obtainable. He must move south. But how was he to move south with Scipio, in command of a practically undefeated army, perched on one of the spurs of the Apennines, ready to take him at a disadvantage if he tried to cross the range into Etruria? Sempronius' march had indeed left the east coast route open to him, but in following that

route he would enter on a long march where the two conditions necessary for his army's existence would be both unfulfilled. The country would be comparatively poor, which would entail foraging at long distances from the main army. Moreover its hilly or mountainous character would render his superiority in the cavalry arm comparatively useless to him. Scipio would be probably on his heels with a force swelled by the accession of Sempronius' army: his foragers would be cut off and his main body liable to attack when its numbers were diminished by their absence. Surely for the time Scipio had out-generalled him. Scipio's strategy was simple, but it seemed likely to be uncommonly effective. Hannibal's only way out of the difficulty on this, as on other subsequent occasions, was to inflict a crushing defeat on the Romans in a pitched battle. Probably had Scipio had his way, that pitched battle would never have taken place save under circumstances which assured the Romans a superiority of position. In any true estimate of Hannibal's generalship these considerations must be taken into account, and, while admiring him as one of the greatest tacticians that ever lived, and while admitting that he possessed in the most remarkable degree that rare talent of winning the confidence and affection of his soldiers, one may be surely justified in saying that as a strategist he was surpassed by many generals who could never have accomplished a tithe of what he did.

It was the hotheadedness of Sempronius which saved Hannibal on the Trebbia.

We now pass to the account of the battle as given by Polybius and Livy respectively. The first incident mentioned by both historians is the placing of the ambuscade by Hannibal.

πάλαι δὲ συνεορακὼς μεταξὺ τῶν στρατοπέδων P. III. 71. 1.
τόπον, ἐπίπεδον μὲν καὶ ψιλόν, εὐφυῆ δὲ πρὸς [L. XXI. 54.]
ἐνέδραν διά τι ῥεῖθρον ἔχον ὀφρῦν, ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτης ἀκάνθας καὶ
βάτους συνεχεῖς ἐπιπεφυκότας, ἐγίγνετο πρὸς τῷ στρατηγεῖν
τοὺς ὑπεναντίους. ἔμελλε δ' εὐχερῶς λήσειν·

The level ground below Rivergaro on the East side of the Trebbia is at the present day all under irrigation, and consequently the majority of the streams have been diverted from their former channels into irrigation ditches. One, however,

which remains in its natural state, displays the characteristics described by Polybius. It flows through the country in a little dell from 10 to 20 feet deep, whose sides are covered more or less thickly with that scrubby brushwood which is found in the neighbourhood of Italian rivers. That it is exactly the kind of dell described by Polybius is further shown by the detail mentioned in a subsequent passage:—

P. III. 71. 4. *τὸ γὰρ τυχὸν ῥεῖθρον μετὰ βραχείας ὀφρύος, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ κάλαμοι καὶ πτέρεις καί τι γένος ἀκανθῶν, οὐ μόνον πεζούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἐνίοτε δύναται κρύπτειν.*

The special stream mentioned by Polybius cannot of course be pointed out. Irrigation has completely changed the surface of the country. It is, however, interesting to note the present existence of a stream of the kind described by the historian.

P. III. 71. 10. Hannibal, having placed the ambush in position during the night, ordered the Numidian horse to cross the river and ride up to the enemy's works with a view to disturbing them and bringing on an engagement before the Romans had taken their morning meal. He was specially careful to see that his own men did not begin the battle fasting. Hannibal's plan was successful owing to Sempronius' impetuosity and his elation at the success which his cavalry had achieved on the previous day. The Numidian cavalry, having played their part, retired again across the river, i.e. to the E. bank, and the Romans followed them. The latter had some difficulty in making the passage owing to a freshet caused by rain.

L. XXI. 54. 7.
P. III. 72. 3.

Both armies were now on the E. bank, i.e. could reach Placentia from where they were without crossing the river. It is important to note this fact.

P. III. 73. 7. Hannibal, seeing that the Romans had crossed the river, drew up his army about 8 stades or $1\frac{1}{2}$ kilometres in front of his camp. The incidents of the battle are described with much detail by both historians, but it is not necessary to deal with them at any length, as they do not furnish us directly or indirectly with topographical facts. But in the description of the final rout we have facts recorded

which make it very difficult for us to understand how it is possible for Professor Mommsen, following Polybius, as he says he does, to locate the battle-field on the west side of the Trebbia.

Polybius expressly says that the Romans who cut their way through the Carthaginian army did not go back to their own camp *because they were prevented by the river from so doing.* Now, if the battle had taken place to the West of the Trebbia, these Romans *must* have crossed the river to reach Placentia. Polybius certainly seems to imply most distinctly that one, at any rate, of their reasons for going to Placentia was that they shirked the crossing. P. III. 74. 5.

Livy is even more explicit. He says "Cut off by the river from return into their camp, and not being able to see for the rain where they could help their comrades, they marched straight to Placentia." Furthermore Livy goes on to say that of the rest of the Roman army some made for the river and were swept away in its eddies, whereas such as were dispersed in flight over the country followed the track of those who had cut their way through, and made for Placentia. Livy further tells us that those who escaped to the Roman camp *crossed* the river the next night on rafts and made their way to Placentia. L. XXI. 56. 3.

Such then are the results of a comparison of the accounts given by Livy and Polybius of the Battle of the Trebbia and the operations leading up to it with the topography of the ground at the present day. In all essential details the two accounts agree, in fact that of Livy shows signs of being in considerable debt to the narrative of Polybius.

Describing the events which followed the battle, Polybius tells us of the false report sent home by Sempronius and the discovery of the truth by the Romans. He omits to mention the important facts which we learn from Livy as to the movements of the part of the Roman force which made its way across the Trebbia to the Roman camp. Livy says "The Trebbia was the final limit of the Carthaginian pursuit. They (the Carthaginians) returned to their camp so be- P. III. 75. 1 seqq. L. XXI. 56 ad fin.

numbed with cold that they hardly felt the joy of victory. Consequently on the next night, when the camp garrison and the other survivors, mainly wounded men, crossed the Trebbia on rafts, they either perceived nothing, owing to the rain, or, not being able to move from fatigue and wounds, they pretended to perceive nothing. Thus, unmolested by the Carthaginians, the consul Scipio marched his army in perfect quiet to Placentia, whence he crossed the Po to Cremona, that a single colony might be spared the burden of two armies in winter quarters."

Roman Camp 2. No passage could show more clearly Livy's view as to the side of the Trebbia on which he understood the Roman camp to have been.

To return to the topographical question: there is nothing in either account which would lead one to suppose that either author had seen the battle-field. The two accounts are evidently drawn up from memoirs written possibly by persons who were present at the engagement. It has already been remarked that Livy seems to have drawn from Polybius, but it is also noticeable that the former seems to have had either a larger stock of information to work upon, or to have made more use of his materials than Polybius.

P. III. 75. 2. The Carthaginian success brought over to their side that portion of the Celts who had hitherto either remained neutral or faithful to the Romans, and it was this fact in all probability which rendered it possible for Hannibal to pass the winter in N. Italy, even if his absolute superiority in the field was not of itself sufficient to ensure a

P. III. 75. 6. copious supply of necessaries. The Romans were evidently uncertain as to the route which Hannibal would take in his march southwards. This is shown by the fact that the consuls Gnaeus Servilius and Gaius Flaminius collected their levies in Tuscany and at Ariminum, so as to be ready on either the E. or W. route.

Concerning the events which intervened between the Battle on the Trebbia and Hannibal's march south it will not be necessary to speak at length. It is worthy of remark, however,

L. XXI. 57. 6 et seqq. that our knowledge of those events is due to Livy and not to Polybius. They are:—

(1) The attack and failure of the Carthaginians at Emporium.

(2) The assault, surrender and sack of Victumviae by the Carthaginians.

(3) The first attempt of Hannibal to cross the Apennines in the spring, and its failure.

(4) Hannibal's return towards Placentia, and the attack of Sempronius, who had returned from Rome, upon him. L. xxi. 59.

Concerning (1) and (2) nothing need be said.

Concerning (3) we may say that the account bears evident traces of exaggeration with a view to heighten the interest of the story, and it does not read at all like Livy's more serious historical work.

There is absolutely nothing of a definite character to guide us to the determination of the point at which the attempt was made. Judging from the difficulties described we might possibly conclude that it was made at a lofty part of the Apennine range, and the language employed by Livy with regard to the events which succeeded this failure would seem to imply that it was not made from Liguria. These two considerations lead us to conjecture that it took place in that part of the range south of modern Modena, where Monte Cimone rises to a height of 7000 ft. By this route Hannibal would, had he been successful, have debouched immediately on the Upper Arno valley in the neighbourhood of the modern Fiesole and ancient Faesulae, and have avoided what must have been a tremendously difficult march along the coast from the neighbourhood of the modern Genoa to the marshes of the Lower Arno, and, what is more, he would have avoided the marshes themselves. L. xxi. 59.

The shorter route, in which Hannibal failed, was possibly the one taken by Flaminius when he led into Etruria the two legions which he received from the Consul Sempronius and the two which he received from the Praetor C. Attilius. L. xxi. 63. 15.

After the engagement with Sempronius Livy tells us that Hannibal retired to Liguria.

L. xxii. 2. P. iii. 78, 79. The accounts which Polybius and Livy give of Hannibal's passage into Etruria through the marshes of the Arno show that neither author had any real idea of the geography of the region which Hannibal traversed. All they seem to know is that he crossed the Apennines and traversed the marshes. It is consequently impossible to say with absolute certainty what was his actual route, but it is probable that he crossed a pass (possibly that at the source of the Trebbia) into the Italian Riviera near Genoa, and arrived at the Lower Arno by the coast road or track past the sites of the modern Chiavari and Spezzia. His previous failure was likely to make him disinclined to attempt the shorter route, and the fact of his having to cross the marshes points to his having adopted a route along or near the coast. On emerging from the marshes he found the Roman army already encamped round Arretium, the modern Arezzo, which shows that Flaminius had taken a shorter route,—probably the one already indicated.

L. xxii. 3. P. iii. 80. 1, 2.

Both authors mention that Hannibal adopted his usual custom of making enquiry into the character of the man opposed to him and of laying his plans accordingly. His evident intention, as his subsequent action shows, was to do all he could to fight a pitched battle with the Roman army, and his enquiries showed that he had a man opposed to him who would be only too likely to second his wishes. It was a repetition of the circumstances of the Trebbia. The only terms on which an army, which is dependent on foraging for its food supply, can live in any country, are that it should have no hostile force in its neighbourhood sufficiently strong to hinder its operations. It must have absolute command of the district from which its supplies are drawn. Anything short of this meant ruin to Hannibal and his army. He must fight, and the problem he had to solve was how he could best arrange matters so as to have the advantage of position when the day of battle actually arrived. The strategy he adopted before the battle of Lake Trasimene was of a very simple character, but he evidently thought, and rightly, as the sequel shows, that it would not require much artifice to delude such a headstrong fool as he

judged Flaminius to be. So he took the lead down the long valley which leads from Arretium to the N.W. angle of L. Trasimene, suddenly turned the corner, waited there, and then unexpectedly pounced out on his pursuer. It was the same kind of strategy which a child adopts, who when chased by another down a long passage, gets round the corner first, and instead of continuing his flight, waits there, and scares his pursuer by rushing out on him. It is not necessary to follow the details of his march to Lake Trasimene, or of Flaminius' pursuit. We must now proceed to try and form some idea of the Lake itself and of its N. and E. shores.

The N. shore of L. Trasimene.

On reference to the map it will be seen that the long valley from Arretium abuts on the lake at its N. W. corner, near Terontola, the junction where the branch railway to Perugia leaves the main line of the Rete Adriatica from Florence to Rome. On the N. shore of the Lake is low-lying ground between the lake shore and the neighbouring hills, in shape like a flattened capital B lying on its back, the lake shore forming the straight edge, and the hills the two semicircular boundaries. The high ground on which the village of Tuoro lies divides the two halves of the latter from one another. The western of these two segments is the traditional site of the battle. This site is separated from the low land about Terontola by a more or less rocky ridge which abuts on the lake at a point (marked Pt A on the map) where there is a tunnel on the Perugia railway. This point shows the very plainest evidence that it has been worn away with a certain amount of rapidity in recent times. The shore is strewn with pieces of rock which have fallen away from the waterworn cliff, and everything seems to point to the fact that the lake has advanced at this part.

This evidence leads to the belief that the lake has never been appreciably higher than it is at the present day. The probability is, therefore, that at the time the battle took place the water level was lower than at the present time.

But when, going eastwards, you pass Point A and come to the low ground which is the traditional site of the battle-field, there is every sign that the shore of the lake and the ground

for some distance back from the shore is of recent formation, that is, although the water level is now higher than in former days, yet the land has at this point gained on the water: the line of shore has advanced, not receded. The cause is not far to seek. Eastward of the waterworn Pt A, and jutting out from this very line of shore, will be seen another point, which projects into the lake nearly one kilometre or about 1000 yards beyond the general line of coast. Other similar though smaller points will be seen along the coast eastward towards Passignano. These points are all formed of alluvial deposits from the small streams which enter the lake at their several extremities, and the size of these projections shows the extraordinary amount of solid matter which is brought down to the lake by these insignificant brooks. This, and the shallow character of the lake itself, account for the advance of the coast line in spite of the rise of the water level. Speaking generally, it may be said that in Hannibal's time Point A extended probably further into the lake: Point B was certainly much smaller, and the coast line between them was further back, i.e. N. of its line at the present day. [The probable line of coast in former times will be found indicated on the map.]

The great natural theatre which is enclosed on its E., W., and N. sides by the ridges which circle round from Tuoro to Pt A is a valley with a flat alluvial bottom. The ridge varies from about 500 to 800 feet in height above the valley. This is, as has been stated, the traditional site of the battle.

Some authorities are disposed to place the battle-field on the E. side of the lake. Those who do so have to throw Livy's account of the battle overboard, and have to face other most serious and inexplicable difficulties which will be dealt with later.

P. III. 82. 1 seqq. To return to the history of events. Polybius tells us that Hannibal broke up his camp at Faesulae, went past the Roman camp, and set to work to ravage the great fertile valley which extends from Faesulae without any noticeable break past Arretium and Cortonium to Lake Trasimene. This was more than Flaminius' temper could stand, and in his wrath he set out in hot pursuit of the

Carthaginian army with, from what Polybius says, an utter disregard of the ordinary precautions of war. This accounts for the ease with which he was caught in the somewhat simple trap which Hannibal set for him. The latter having marched due S. as far as the N.W. corner of L. Trasimene, i.e. to the neighbourhood of the modern Terontola, turned E. and passed round promontory A. It is quite possible that there was in those days low ground between the extremity of the ridge which ends in Pt A and the shore of the lake. P. III. 82. 7.

We now come to Polybius' description of the position which Hannibal took up. It is worth while to notice the detail with which he describes it. It is totally unlike anything we get in his description of the Trebbia. He describes it in the language of a man who had seen the ground. There is nothing in his description of the Trebbia which could make us suppose that he had ever been there. The only minute topographical detail which he gives in his account of that field is in reference to the dell of the stream where Hannibal planted his ambush, and such a dell he might see in any flat alluvial land in Italy. But in this account of the position of Hannibal at Lake Trasimene he is describing an unusual piece of ground, the like of which could not be easily found elsewhere, and he describes it accurately moreover. His description indeed is so accurate that it is hard to understand how those who profess to have examined the ground can have failed to see that Polybius, whether right or wrong, supposed the battle to have taken place on what we know now as the traditional site. The very confusion which enters into one part of his description is, as will be shown, the confusion of a man who was describing the ground from memory and not from the description of others.

ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Φλαμίνιον ἤδη συνάπτοντα κα-θεώρα, τόπους δ' εὐφυεῖς συνεθεώρησε πρὸς τὴν χρείαν, ἐγίγνετο πρὸς τὸ διακινδυνεύειν. ὄντος δὲ κατὰ τὴν δίοδον αὐλῶνος ἐπιπέδου, τούτου δὲ παρὰ μὲν τὰς εἰς μῆκος πλευρὰς ἑκατέρας βουνοὺς ἔχοντος ὑψηλοὺς καὶ συνεχεῖς, παρὰ δὲ τὰς εἰς πλάτος κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἀντικρὺ λόφον ἐπικείμενον ἐρυμνὸν καὶ δύσβατον, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπ' οὐρᾶς λίμνην P. III. 82. 11. 83. 1 seqq.

τελέως στενὴν ἀπολείπουσαν πάροδον ὡς εἰς τὸν αὐλῶνα παρὰ τὴν παρωρείαν.

If this description be examined, it will be found to be a very accurate one of the hollow enclosed in the hills from Tuoro to Pt A, and the peculiarities of the ground as described are such as could not be applicable to many places in the whole of Italy.

The αὐλών, hollow, or defile was level, i.e. the bottom of it was flat. That is exactly the case here. The level alluvial ground extends far up the valley from the lake. Some have rejected this site on the ground that the word αὐλών is not applicable to this valley, because αὐλών, they say, implies a valley open at both ends, a sort of passage so to speak. But αὐλών is also applied to valleys which run up among hills and end among them, as does this valley of which we are speaking.

Polybius says that the sides along its length, i.e. in the case of this valley the E. and W. sides, were enclosed by lofty and continuous hills. This refers evidently to the ridge on whose extremity Tuoro lies, and to the chain of hills running northward from Pt A. There was a bare and difficult (δύσβατος) peak at the end of the valley facing you as you entered. This means the N. side of the valley, for entering the valley round Pt A, you would incline north after passing the promontory [as indeed the modern high road does, though it passes over the ridge of Pt A] in order to avoid the marshy land near the lake shore. The peak is there and is from a military point of view, exactly what Polybius describes it to be, viz. ἐρυμνὸς καὶ δύσβατος. The lake is, of course, the S. boundary, and the παρωρεία mentioned is evidently the slope of promontory A towards the lake.

Livy's description of the field is probably second-hand, and far less precise than that of Polybius.

L. xxii. 4. 1 seqq. Hannibal quod agri est inter Cortonam urbem Trasumennumque lacum omni clade belli pervastat, quo magis iram hosti ad vindicandas sociorum iniurias acuat. Et iam pervenerant ad loca nata insidiis, ubi maxime montes Cortonenses Trasumennus subit. Via tantum interest perangusta, velut ad id ipsum de industria relicto spatio; deinde

paulo latior patescit campus; inde colles adsurgunt. ibi castra in aperto locat, ubi ipse cum Afris modo Hispanisque consideret; Baliares ceteramque levem armaturam post montis circumducit; equites ad ipsas fauces saltus tumulis apte tegentibus locat, ut, ubi intrassent Romani, obiecto equitatu clausa omnia lacu ac montibus essent.

There is no question as to *where* Livy supposed the field to be: the words, "ubi maxime montes Cortonenses Trasumennus subit," show plainly that he supposed the battle to have been fought in the valley between Tuoro and the ridge of Point A. The next words, "Via tantum interest perangusta velut ad id ipsum de industria relicto spatio," would seem to imply that there was some narrow piece of low ground in those days between the lake shore and the extremity of Pt A. He is evidently referring to the passage round Pt A, whatever he may have supposed its nature to be. The comparatively broad level ground to which he refers is the flat alluvial land enclosed between Pt A and Tuoro.

Taking these two accounts, given by Livy and Polybius respectively, of the topography of the ground whereon the battle was fought, it seems difficult to understand the argument of those who profess to find discrepancies in this particular portion of their histories. Polybius' description is more detailed and more accurate, indeed, than that of Livy, for the apparent reason that he had seen the ground whereas Livy had not; and, again, Livy does state the position of the field, whereas Polybius does not. These are, however, differences, not discrepancies.

With respect to the actual description of the battle it will be well to take the accounts given by the two authors separately, leaving all comparison between them until the end.

Polybius, after giving the description of the field already quoted, says

διελθὼν τὸν αὐλῶνα παρὰ τὴν λίμνην, τὸν μὲν κατὰ πρόσωπον τῆς πορείας λόφον αὐτὸς κατελάβετο, καὶ τοὺς Ἴβηρας καὶ τοὺς Λίβυας ἔχων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ κατεστρατοπέδευσε. P. III. 83. 2.

After passing Point A, Hannibal went along parallel to the

lake shore apparently, and took up his position on the hill, probably on the very site of the modern Tuoro.

τοὺς δὲ Βαλιαρεῖς καὶ λογχοφόρους κατὰ τὴν πρωτοπορείαν ἐκπεριάγων ὑπὸ τοὺς ἐν δεξιᾷ βουνοὺς τῶν παρὰ τὸν αὐλῶνα κειμένων, ἐπὶ πολὺ παρατείνας ὑπέστειλε.

If Polybius' description of the field be referred to, it will be seen that the hills here mentioned are those which extend from Tuoro northwards, on the right or E. side of the valley as you look up it. These troops would be on the right of those which Hannibal had placed at Tuoro. The object of this disposition is clear also. Hannibal evidently intended that this body of men should wheel round, and take the Romans in flank when the latter became engaged with the troops at Tuoro. The very concealment of this part of his army also shows the nature of the attack which it was intended to make.

In the two passages above quoted the valley is clearly and in express terms spoken of from two different points of view, a confusion of description which would be more likely to be made by one who had seen the field than by one who had not.

(1) Polybius' original description of the ground is taken from what would be the best point of view, i.e. the position of one standing on the shore of the lake with his back to it and looking up the valley.

(2) In describing Hannibal's movement to his position at Tuoro, he speaks from the standpoint of one looking along his line of march, i.e. Eastwards, *across* the valley, not up it [cf. *τὸν...κατὰ πρόσωπον τῆς πορείας λόφον*].

(3) He then returns to the original standpoint in describing the positions taken up by the remainder of Hannibal's force (cf. *ὑπὸ τοὺς ἐν δεξιᾷ βουνοὺς τῶν παρὰ τὸν αὐλῶνα κειμένων* etc.).

Hannibal does not seem to have placed any troops whatever at the head of the hollow.

P. III. 83. 5. Polybius next proceeds to describe the actual battle. Since it is on his account that those who argue for the site of the battle on the Eastern side of the lake found their argument, it will be well perhaps to examine it sentence by sentence, and to see what difficulties or otherwise

there are in applying what he says to the site on the northern side.

ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀννίβας, ταῦτα προκατασκευασάμενος τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ περιειληφὼς τὸν αὐλῶνα ταῖς ἐνέδραις, τὴν ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν. ὁ δὲ Φλαμίνιος εἵπετο κατόπιν, σπεύδων συνάψαι τοῖς πολεμίοις· κατεστρατοπεδευκὼς δὲ τῇ προτεραίᾳ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ λίμνῃ τελέως ὀψὲ τῆς ὥρας, μετὰ ταῦτα τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιγενομένης, εὐθέως ὑπὸ τὴν ἑωθινὴν ἦγε τὴν πρωτοπορείαν παρὰ τὴν λίμνην εἰς τὸν ὑποκείμενον αὐλῶνα, βουλόμενος ἐξάπτεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων.

Flaminius' camp here mentioned would appear to have been on the low ground in the neighbourhood of the modern Terontola. He would enter the hollow by the same way as Hannibal had previously entered it, i.e. by passing round point A.

οὔσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ὁμιχλώδους διαφερόντως, P. III. 84. 1. *Ἀννίβας ἅμα τῷ τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος τῆς πορείας εἰς τὸν αὐλῶνα προσδέξασθαι καὶ συνάπτειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἤδη τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων πρωτοπορείαν, ἀποδοὺς τὰ συνθήματα καὶ διαπεμψάμενος πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἐνέδραις, συνεπεχείρει πανταχόθεν ἅμα τοῖς πολεμίοις. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Φλαμίνιον, παραδόξου γενομένης αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐπιφανείας, ἔτι δὲ δυσσυνόπτου τῆς κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα περιστάσεως ὑπαρχούσης, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων κατὰ πολλοὺς τόπους ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου καταφερομένων καὶ προσπιπτόντων, οὐχ οἷον παραβοηθεῖν ἐδύναντο πρός τι τῶν δεομένων οἱ ταξίαρχοι καὶ χιλίαρχοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ συννοῆσαι τὸ γιγνόμενον. ἅμα γὰρ οἱ μὲν κατὰ πρόσωπον, οἱ δ' ἀπ' οὐρᾶς, οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων αὐτοῖς προσέπιπτον. διὸ καὶ συνέβη τοὺς πλείστους ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τῆς πορείας σχήματι κατακοπῆναι, μὴ δυναμένους αὑτοῖς βοηθεῖν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν εἰ προδεδομένους ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ προεστῶτος ἀκρισίας· ἔτι γὰρ διαβουλευόμενοι τί δεῖ πράττειν ἀπώλλυντο παραδόξως.*

The only topographical point which is raised by the words quoted is in reference to the description of the Carthaginian attack. It is described as having been on the front, rear, and on *both* flanks. It will be seen on reference to the map that it might have been expected that the attack would be on the front, rear, and left flank only of the Romans.

Two explanations of the apparent difficulty are possible.

The first is, of course, that the authority from which Polybius drew his description was mistaken. In topographical questions, however, such explanations as the above, though we may suspect them in some cases to be true, are inadmissible, unless there be very strong grounds for supposing the mistake to have been made. Here no such grounds exist.

The explanation probably is that:

(1) The Romans were marching along the road, which then, as now, would be some distance from the lake shore, in order that temporary rises of the lake which flood the low grounds in its immediate vicinity might be avoided. There would consequently be a considerable space of ground between their column and the lake shore under ordinary circumstances of water level.

(2) The Romans were in column of march when attacked by the Carthaginians. Hence the latter when attacking the head of the column would naturally overlap it on both sides and attack it on both flanks. This explanation is rendered all the more probable by the fact that the only portion of the Roman army which is said to have been driven into the lake is that which was caught in the narrow passage round Pt A, where there could hardly have been any space between the line of march and the lake shore.

P. III. 84. 5. *ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ καὶ τὸν Φλαμίνιον αὐτὸν δυσχρηστούμενον καὶ περικακοῦντα τοῖς ὅλοις προσπεσόντες τινὲς τῶν Κελτῶν ἀπέκτειναν. ἔπεσον οὖν τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατὰ τὸν αὐλῶνα σχεδὸν εἰς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, οὔτ' εἴκειν τοῖς παροῦσιν οὔτε πράττειν οὐδὲν δυνάμενοι, τοῦτο δ' ἐκ τῶν ἐθισμῶν αὐτὸ περὶ πλείστου ποιούμενοι, τὸ μὴ φεύγειν μηδὲ λείπειν τὰς τάξεις. οἱ δὲ κατὰ πορείαν μεταξὺ τῆς λίμνης καὶ τῆς παρωρείας ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς συγκλεισθέντες αἰσχρῶς, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ταλαιπώρως διεφθείροντο. συνωθούμενοι γὰρ εἰς τὴν λίμνην οἱ μὲν διὰ τὴν παράστασιν τῆς διανοίας ὁρμῶντες ἐπὶ τὸ νήχεσθαι σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀπεπνίγοντο, τὸ δὲ πολὺ πλῆθος μέχρι μὲν τοῦ δυνατοῦ προβαῖνον εἰς τὴν λίμνην ἔμενε τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτὰς ὑπὲρ τὸ ὑγρὸν ὑπερίσχον· ἐπιγενομένων δὲ τῶν ἱππέων, καὶ προδήλου γενομένης ἀπωλείας, ἐξαίροντες τὰς χεῖρας καὶ δεόμενοι ζωγρεῖν*

καὶ πᾶσαν προϊέμενοι φωνὴν τὸ τελευταῖον οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, τινὲς δὲ παρακαλέσαντες αὑτοὺς διεφθάρησαν.

The absolute character of the disaster which overtook the rear of the column in its passage round Point A can be easily understood by those who have seen the ground. The Carthaginians must have charged down the steep slope at the end of the ridge.

ἑξακισχίλιοι δ' ἴσως τῶν κατὰ τὸν αὐλῶνα τοὺς κατὰ πρόσωπον νικήσαντες παραβοηθεῖν μὲν τοῖς ἰδίοις καὶ περιίστασθαι τοὺς ὑπεναντίους ἠδυνάτουν, διὰ τὸ μηδὲν συνορᾶν τῶν γιγνομένων, καίπερ μεγάλην δυνάμενοι πρὸς τὰ ὅλα παρέχεσθαι χρείαν etc. P. III. 84. 11.

The passage need not be quoted at length as it does not in any way serve to elucidate the topography of the field. These 6000 escaped for the moment, probably passing either over or below the site of Tuoro, whence they took to the hills, probably those which wind round from Tuoro to Passignano. Of what followed it is not necessary to speak, as it in no way contributes to our present purpose.

We will now turn to Livy's account of the battle.

Flaminius cum pridie solis occasu ad lacum pervenisset, inexplorato postero die vixdum satis certa luce angustiis superatis. L. XXII. 4. 4.

This would refer to the passage round Pt A, for the Romans, coming from Arretium, would reach the lake at the N.W. corner.

Postquam in patentiorem campum pandi agmen coepit, id tantum hostium, quod ex adverso erat, conspexit; ab tergo ac super caput deceptae insidiae. L. XXII. 4. 4.

The portion of the enemy which he saw were the troops stationed on, and possibly also below the site of Tuoro, who would be directly barring his passage. Livy's account seems to hint at what was probably the actual case, that this body of troops extended to the lake shore over the low ground before Tuoro, and, if this is so, the attack on both flanks is explained, since the Roman column would almost certainly be on the road, at some distance, as has been shown, from the actual lake edge.

L. xxii. 4. 5. Poenus ubi, id quod petierat, clausum lacu ac montibus et circumfusum suis copiis habuit hostem, signum omnibus dat simul invadendi. qui ubi qua cuique proximum fuit decucurrerunt, eo magis Romanis subita atque inprovisa res fuit, quod orta ex lacu nebula campo quam montibus densior sederat, agminaque hostium ex pluribus collibus ipsa inter se satis conspecta eoque magis pariter decucurrerant. Romanus clamore prius undique orto quam satis cerneret se circumventum esse sensit, et ante in frontem lateraque pugnari coeptum est, quam satis instrueretur acies aut expediri arma stringique gladii possent.

For topographical purposes this compares but poorly with Polybius' account. It is noticeable, however, that Livy speaks of an attack on *both* flanks, as Polybius does. Livy seems to have understood that the attack on the rear was not simultaneous with those on the front and flank. It is very possible that Livy was right in this respect. The distance from the beginning of the narrow passage (i.e. the W. end of it) round Point A to the place where the Roman vanguard came in contact with the Carthaginians is about 3 kilometres, or, roughly, some two miles, and, consequently, at the moment of contact, it is hardly likely that the Roman rear was wholly involved in that narrow passage, and the Carthaginian troops to whom the duty of attacking this portion of the Roman force was assigned would probably have to delay their attack.

The earlier portion of Chapter 5 is taken up with an account of the incidents and circumstances of the fight: but in the 6th Section of that Chapter we have a passage which seems at variance with what has been previously said.

L. xxii. 5. 6. Deinde, ubi in omnis partis nequiquam impetus capti, et ab lateribus montes ac lacus, a fronte et ab tergo hostium acies claudebat etc.

Here we have no mention of the enemy as being on the flank of the Romans. Still the omission is not of high importance. The battle had degenerated at this time into a confused mêlée, and it is only too likely that Fabius, or any other authority from whom Livy drew his account, would not be very precise as to front, flank and rear attacks in his

description of this part of the fight. We have then further details of the fighting, and a description, which may or may not be true, of the manner of the consul's death.

In the 6th Section of Ch. 6 Livy mentions the incident of a large number of the beaten Romans wading out into the lake. He does not, like Polybius, specifically assert that those who did so were the rear guard who were caught in the narrow passage, but his words imply that he understood that those who resorted to this desperate expedient were in a peculiarly dangerous case—"pars magna, *ubi locus fugae deest,* per prima vada paludis in aquam progressi" etc. L. XXII. 6. 6.

The rest of Livy's story does not in any way elucidate the topography of the field and need not be referred to.

To the few readers, who may think it worth their while to wade through this somewhat bald statement of facts, some apology may, perhaps, be due for the exceedingly dry nature of the method which has been employed. It would have been easy to have included in this paper the full descriptions of the battles as given by Livy and Polybius respectively, and this would, no doubt, have rendered the narrative more interesting and graphic: but it would have wrapped up the salient topographical details in a mass of other detail which would have tended to obscure the facts whose elucidation is the object of the paper.

So much has been said of late years in dispraise of Livy as an historian of facts, that one feels all but guilty of an act of audacity in saying aught in his favour. It would indeed be rash to draw general conclusions as to his trustworthiness or otherwise from an examination of so small a portion of his history. It will be seen, however, that this part of his work, when tested in the only way that is possible at the present time, passes the test well. Critical acumen has discovered discrepancies in the accounts which Livy and Polybius respectively give of the campaigns of the Trebbia and the Trasimene Lake. An examination of the ground on which these campaigns were fought discovers no discrepancies which can in any way be said to cast a doubt on the truthfulness of either writer.

The facts which both give are in no one important respect inconsistent with the ground at the present time: the topographical difficulties which their accounts involve are due to sins of omission, not of commission. From the point of view of military history these omissions are no doubt deplorable, but they do not render what *is* stated necessarily or even probably untrue. The real object which has been aimed at in this particular work is the same as that which induced the writer to examine in detail the field of Plataea and certain other classic ground in Greece. This form of test is perhaps the only one which can be applied largely to the narratives of ancient historians, and though it can only be applied in the case of the larger histories to a small portion of the relation, yet it may contribute in some small measure to the presumptive evidence of the value which may be attached to the general truth and accuracy of the historians, part of whose narrative is so tested.

The value of the test depends largely on the manner in which it is applied.

It cannot be of much value if the inquirer arrives on his ground with preconceived notions as to the possibility or impossibility of elucidating the narrative.

It cannot be of much value either if he takes the standard of modern military histories as that by which he is going to judge Herodotus or Livy.

It will be of still less value if the inquirer draws on his own imagination unsupported by the only authorities to which he can have recourse, and just takes so much of the narrative as suits some topographical theory of his own, and rejects as untrue all that fails to square with that theory.

The conjectured site of the Battlefield of Lake Trasimene lying East of the Lake.

In the Classical Review of July 1893, p. 300, will be found a paper by Mr Lilly on this subject. It is worthy of attention because Mr Lilly does not, like some other advocates of the Eastern site, draw up a scheme of his own for the battle at variance with many of the most important details mentioned by Polybius and Livy. But when I first read Mr Lilly's paper I fancied that there was something wrong with his topography, but I had not by me at the time the large-scale map of that district by which I could verify or disprove my own suspicions.

Mr Lilly says that Hesselbarth puts the battle to the E. of Magione, and he says that this theory of the site will not hold water when the ground is examined. I cordially agree with him. In order to locate the battle E. of Magione on the site to which Hesselbarth refers it, it would be necessary to throw over half of what Polybius and three-quarters of what Livy says, and to construct a new scheme for the battle out of one's own imagination. The force of what I say will be understood when I mention that under this theory the main portion of the fighting must have taken place about 4 miles from the lake. Mr Lilly, however, claims to have found another site between Hesselbarth's and the lake, which he thinks was the actual field. He states the difficulties which it raises with respect to the narrative, as far as he can see them, very fairly. He admits that Livy must be thrown over and appeals to Polybius only. I will take his account in detail, with certain annotations which the reader can verify by reference to the map which is herewith given.

He says, "It was not until I had walked from Magione to the high ground overlooking the lake and began to retrace my steps that the truth of Polybius' account began to impress itself upon me."

He apparently went from Magione along the Torricella road until he reached the summit of the ridge which separates the low ground below Magione from the lake. The summit of that ridge is 318 feet above the lake, and 347 feet above the level of the low ground below Magione.

"It will be remembered that a little to the W. of Passignano there begins a narrow defile between the mountains and the lake, about 5 miles in length, through which the railway and the road run."

This is quite correct.

"At the village of Torricella the road leaves the lake, having on its right the hill of Monte del Lago, crowned by a curious old walled village with a towered gateway. For about a quarter of a mile it ascends gradually, and then you find yourself looking down on a more or less ellipse-shaped basin with a flat bottom, and almost completely surrounded by steep hills; the only exit—which from this point appears much narrower than it really is—being under Magione, where the road from Chiusi to Perugia now runs."

On reading this passage in Mr Lilly's article, I felt that Mr Lilly's topography was, according to my own recollection of the ground, wrong. The map will show that my feeling was not unfounded.

In the first place the road from Torricella to Magione does not ascend for nearly a quarter of a mile after leaving the former place, but for 1200 yards. This is a serious mistake. He describes the ascent as gradual. The vertical rise in the 1200 yards is 318 feet. This is not exactly what would be called a gradual rise. After traversing this 1200 yards you do find yourself looking down on a more or less ellipse-shaped basin with a flat bottom, but how it can be described as almost completely surrounded by steep hills, is not easy to see. The exit of the basin under Magione is a little more than 1 kilometre broad, and this exit so-called is only $1\frac{1}{2}$ kilometres from the observer as he stands at that point in the Torricella-Magione road at which it comes into sight. Furthermore, it is in full view from that point, and I cannot understand, either from my own recollection or from the map, how Mr Lilly can describe it

as appearing much narrower than it really is. I may repeat, for it is of great importance to note, that in going down from this point directly into this basin you would descend a vertical distance of 347 feet in about 1 kilometre (1093 yds.), for the bottom of this valley is 29 feet below the level of the lake. Mr Lilly seems to disregard completely the rise in the road of more than 300 feet, over which an army entering the basin from the lake side at Torricella would have to pass. How is it that Polybius in his manifestly painstaking description of the field never mentions this peculiarly noticeable feature? Needless to say Livy does not mention it. They both describe the army as entering the *αὐλὼν ἐπίπεδος* directly after traversing the passage under the *παρωρεία*. They say nothing of a steep ascent from the lake followed by a steep descent into the level hollow. Again, if this high ridge separates the hollow, to which Polybius refers, from the lake, how is it that he comes to say, in describing the hollow, that it had *κατὰ τὴν ἀπ' οὐρᾶς [πλευρὰν] λίμνην τελείως στενὴν ἀπολείπουσαν πάροδον ὡς εἰς τὸν αὐλῶνα παρὰ τὴν παρωρείαν*? The hollow is more than a mile from the lake shore. The rest of Mr Lilly's article need not be quoted in detail. He recognises that there must be a difficulty in identifying the hill which is described by Polybius in the words *κατὰ τὴν ἀντικρὺ λόφον ἐπικείμενον ἐρυμνὸν καὶ δύσβατον*. He is inclined to think that the hill on which Magione stands is the one referred to, but, as he says a few sentences later [recognising that, if the road in Roman times ran where it does now, viz. high up on the hill above the hollow, this site is impossible], that the ancient road probably ran straight across the bottom of the basin, it is difficult to see how the Roman troops in their march could have come face to face with the Carthaginians stationed on the hill of Magione, or indeed how troops placed on that hill could have blocked the passage in the effectual way which is implied by Polybius' account. Again, if this hill be taken as the position of the Carthaginians who blocked the way, the main fighting must have taken place in a space of one kilometre in length. It is difficult to understand how any large number of men in marching column along a road could have been compressed into so small a space.

P. III. 83. 1.

I have thus discussed Mr Lilly's Eastern site because it is the only one on that side of the lake for which any argument, not founded on the wildest imagination, can be raised. I personally cannot understand how any inquirer, who could form a capable judgment of ground, could fail to see how closely Polybius' description coincides with the site on the north shore of the lake, the site, that is, to which Livy refers. I am disposed to think that many of the supposed difficulties which have been raised with regard to its site, and with regard to many others also, have been due to mistakes on the part of the modern observers rather than to mistakes on the part of the ancient historians.

G. B. GRUNDY.
Brazenose Coll., Oxford.

THE CARTHAGINIAN COUNCILS.

HISTORIANS collectively tell us of the existence of

(*a*) A Council of 30 or 32.
(*b*) A Council of 100.
(*c*) A Council of 104, called the Judges.
(*d*) A larger Council, of numbers unknown.

The names unfortunately to be distributed among these are not so numerous. We hear only of a Γερουσία, a Σύγκλητος, and the 'Judges.' Hence arises a divergence of opinion, which may perhaps be tabulated in the following way:—

	Acc. to Ihne.	Mommsen & Susemihl.	Heeren.
Council of 30.	Γερουσία.	Γερουσία.	——
Council of 100.	Combined as	Combined as	Γερουσία.
Council of 104.	Σύγκλητος.	"Judges."	"Judges."
Larger Council.	Nameless.	Σύγκλητος.	Σύγκλητος.

The new edition of Aristotle's Politics I.—V. (Susemihl and Hicks) follows Mommsen in the main, in speaking of

(*a*) The 100 or 104: the "highest magistracy" which could summon even gerusiasts to give account of their stewardship on resigning their office.

(*b*) The Γερουσία of 30 (or 32) which possessed full legislative powers.

(*c*) The Σύγκλητος, of numbers unknown, from which the 'Judges' (*a*) were chosen.

In this paper I venture to present yet another view of the Carthaginian Councils, which appears to me somewhat better in accordance with the majority of our authorities (which as a whole are apparently inconsistent), and certainly à priori more

probable. At least, the divergence of opinion among historians already indicated may serve as an excuse for yet another attempt at adjustment. To state my result briefly first, I conceive of the Carthaginian Councils as two, deliberative and legislative, and one small executive. There is the Σύγκλητος—a large body of numbers unknown. From this is selected the Γερουσία, a body of 104, in common parlance known as 'The Hundred,' possessing complete legislative and judicial powers as delegated to it by the Σύγκλητος. Finally, of this latter Body some thirty of its members formed a small Executive to administer the decrees of Γερουσία and Σύγκλητος, and pre-eminently to convey such decrees to foreign nations as an embassy. But the duties of this last Body were purely executive, and neither was it called the Γερουσία nor did it possess any legislative or judicial powers. In both these points I differ toto caelo from Mommsen and Susemihl.

But this must now be discussed at length; and first it is necessary to present as complete a list as possible of the passages referring to the subject from our five authorities, Aristotle, Polybius, Diodorus, Livy, and Justin, since only thus is a comprehensive view of the matter possible.

The following are the chief passages on the subject:

Aristotle:

(1) Ἔχει δὲ παραπλήσια τῇ Λακωνικῇ πολιτείᾳ τὰ μὲν συσσίτια τῶν ἑταιριῶν τοῖς φιδιτίοις, τὴν δὲ τῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ τεττάρων ἀρχὴν τοῖς ἐφόροις...τοὺς δὲ βασιλεῖς καὶ τὴν γερουσιαν ἀνάλογον τοῖς ἐκεῖ βασιλεῦσι καὶ γέρουσιν.

(Pol. II. 11. 3. 4.)

(2) Τὰ μὲν προσάγειν τὰ δὲ μὴ προσάγειν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον οἱ βασιλεῖς κύριοι μετὰ τῶν γερόντων, ἂν ὁμογνωμονῶσι πάντες, εἰ δὲ μὴ τούτων καὶ ὁ δῆμος. (Pol. II. 11. 5.)

(3) Τὸ δὲ τὰς πενταρχίας κυρίας οὔσας πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ὑφ' αὑτῶν αἱρετὰς εἶναι, καὶ τὴν τῶν ἑκατὸν ταύτας αἱρεῖσθαι τὴν μεγίστην ἀρχήν...ὀλιγαρχικόν.

(Pol. II. 11. 7.)

Polybius:

(1) Τὸ δὲ Καρχηδονίων πολίτευμα τὸ μὲν ἀνέκαθέν μοι

δοκεῖ καλῶς κατά γε τὰς ὁλοσχερεῖς διαφορὰς συνεστᾶσθαι. καὶ γὰρ βασιλεῖς ἦσαν παρ' αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸ Γερόντιον εἶχε τὴν ἀριστοκρατικὴν ἐξουσίαν, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἦν κύριον τῶν καθηκόντων αὐτῷ. (VI. 51.)

(2) Τὴν πλείστην δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς διαβουλίοις παρὰ μὲν Καρχηδονίοις ὁ δῆμος ἤδη μετειλήφει. (*ib.*)

(3) Ὁ δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων στρατηγὸς Ἀννίβας, ἀκούσας ἐν τῷ Πανόρμῳ τὸ γεγονὸς, ἐξαποστέλλει Βοώδη, τῆς γερουσίας ὑπάρχοντα, ναῦς εἴκοσι δούς. (I. 21. 6.)

(4) Τῶν τε τῆς γερουσίας ἀεί τινας ἐξαπέστελλον πρέσβεις. in B.C. 241. (I. 68. 5.)

(5) Ὅρκος, ὃν ἔθετο Ἀννίβας ὁ στρατηγὸς, Μάγωνος, Μύρκανος, Βαρμόκαρος, καὶ πάντες γερουσιασταὶ Καρχηδονίων οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάντες Καρχηδόνιοι στρατευόμενοι μετ' αὐτοῦ. in B.C. 215. (VII. 9. 1. same formula in § 4.)

(6) Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Μάγωνα καὶ τοὺς ἅμα τούτῳ Καρχηδονίους ἐχώριζε. δύο μὲν γὰρ ἦσαν κατειλημμένοι τῶν ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας, πέντε δὲ καὶ δέκα τῶν ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου. in B.C. 209. (X. 18. 1.)

(7) Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, τοῦ στρατηγοῦ διασαφοῦντος, διότι τεύξονται τούτων, ἐὰν τριακοσίους ὁμήρους εἰς τὸ Λιλύβαιον ἐκπέμψωσιν ἐν τριάκονθ' ἡμέραις, τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ τῆς γερουσίας,...ἐπὶ ποσὸν ἠπόρησαν κ.τ.λ. in 149 B.C. (XXXVI. 2. 6.)

(8) Οὐ μὴν ἀφίσταντο τοῦ ποιεῖν τὰ πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν. διὸ καὶ τριάκοντα μὲν τῆς γερουσίας προχειρισάμενοι...ἐξαπέστελλον. in 238. (I. 87. 3.)

(9) Παραγενομένων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ παρελθόντων εἰς τὸ συνέδριον...δυσχερῶς ἤκουον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι. in 219. (III. 20. 9.)

So war is accepted by πλείους τῶν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου. (III. 33. 4.)

Diodorus:

(1) Διονύσιος δ', ὁ τῶν Συρακοσίων τύραννος...ἐξέπεμψεν εἰς Καρχηδόνα κήρυκα, δοὺς ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τὴν γερουσίαν. Οὗτος μὲν οὖν...τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐπέδωκε τῇ γερουσίᾳ. ἧς ἀναγνωσθείσης ἔν τε τῇ συγκλήτῳ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, συνέβη τοὺς Καρχηδονίους οὐ μετρίως ἀγωνιᾶν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου

...καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἀπέστειλάν τινας τῶν ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας τοὺς ξενολογήσοντας ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης.

(XIV. 47.)

(2) Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῆς γερουσίας ἐν Καρχηδόνι βουλευσαμένης περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καλῶς ἔδοξε τοῖς συνέδροις τρία στρατόπεδα ποιήσαντας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκπέμψαι.

(XX. 59.)

(3) Εἶτα πάλιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διεπέμψαντο πρὸς Καρχηδονίους ἀποστεῖλαί τινας ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας κελεύοντες...οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀπέστειλαν. (XXXII. 6.)

Livy:

(1) Carthaginienses...oratores ad pacem petendam mittunt triginta seniorum principes. Id erat sanctius apud illos consilium maximaque ad ipsum senatum regendum vis.

B.C. 203. (XXX. 16. 3.)

(2) Scriptum erat Aristonem privatim ad neminem, publice ad seniores—ita senatum vocabant—mandata habuisse.

(XXXIV. 61. 15.)

(3) Judicum ordo Carthagine ea tempestate dominabatur, eo maxime quod idem perpetui iudices erant. Res, fama, vitaque omnium in illorum potestate erat. Qui unum eius ordinis offendisset, omnis adversos habebat, nec accusator apud infensos iudices deerat. Horum in tam impotenti regno... praetor factus Hannibal vocari ad se quaestorem jussit. Quaestor id pro nihilo habuit, nam...quia ex quaestura in iudices, potentissimum ordinem, referebatur, iam pro futuris mox opibus animos gerebat.

Enimvero indignum id ratus Hannibal viatorem ad prendendum quaestorem misit subductumque in contionem non ipsum magis quam ordinem judicum prae quorum superbia atque opibus nec leges quicquam essent nec magistratus, accusavit. Et ut secundis auribus accipi orationem animadvertit, et infimorum quoque libertati gravem esse superbiam eorum, legem extemplo promulgavit pertulitque, ut in singulos annos judices legerentur, neu quis biennium continuum judex esset. Ceterum quantam eo facto ad plebem inierat gratiam, tantum magnae partis principum offenderat animos.

B.C. 195. (XXXIII. 46.)

(4) In Hasdrubalis locum haud dubia res fuit quin praerogativam militarem qua extemplo juvenis Hannibal in praetorium delatus, imperatorque ingenti omnium clamore atque adsensu appellatus erat, favor etiam plebis sequeretur. Hunc vixdum puberem Hasdrubal literis ad se arcesserat; actaque res etiam in senatu fuerat, Barcinis nitentibus ut adsuesceret militiae Hannibal, atque in paternas succederet opes. Hanno, alterius factionis princeps, etc. (XXI. 3.)

Justin:

(1) Deinde, cum familia tanta imperatorum gravis liberae civitati esset, omniaque ipsi agerent simul et judicarent, centum ex numero senatorum judices deliguntur, qui reversis a bello ducibus rationem rerum gestarum exigerent, ut hoc metu ita in bello imperia cogitarent, ut domi judicia legesque respicerent. abt. 450 B.C. (XIX. 2. 5. 6.)

(2) His querelis senatus in Hamilcarem accenditur. Sed quoniam in imperio esset tacita de eo suffragia tulerunt, et sententias, priusquam recitarentur, in urnam conjectas, obsignari jusserunt dum alter Hamilcar, Gisconis filius, a Sicilia reverteretur. abt 310 B.C. (XXII. 3.)

(3) In Africa princeps Carthaginiensium Hanno...regnum invadere interfecto senatu conatus est...Itaque plebi epulas in publicis porticibus, senatui in domo sua parat, ut poculis veneno infectis secretius senatum et sine arbitris interficeret orbamque rempublicam facilius invaderet.

340 B.C. (XXI. 4.)

Our earliest authority, Aristotle, thus mentions

(*a*) A Body of 104 akin to the Spartan ephors.

(*b*) A Γερουσία akin to the Spartan Γερουσία.

(*c*) A Body of 100, which is the μεγίστη ἀρχή.

Mommsen therefore maintains that the Γερουσία was a Body of 30, consisting of the two kings and 28 gerusiasts, and thus precisely parallel to the Spartan. In support of this he quotes Livy XXX. 16. 3. This Γερουσία of 30 was the 'sanctius consilium' and possessed those powers of legislation and administration which made it the directing body in the state. Cf. Mommsen II. 1.

Now this view of the Γερουσία is, I think, unjustified. Firstly, we cannot press Aristotle's 'analogy' as regards numbers—for in this same passage he draws an analogy between the 'five' ephors and the '104.' No à priori argument can therefore be proffered that the Carthaginian Γερουσία consisted of 30, because analogous to the Spartan.

Further, Polybius, I. 87. 3, clearly postulates a *larger* number than 30 for the Γερουσία—as a partitive genitive cannot be exhausted by its section. Τριάκοντα τῆς γερουσίας must mean a Γερουσία of more than 30 members. (Cf. Strachan-Davidson, Selections from Polybius. Proleg. VI. p. 49.)

But it is argued, Polybius here means, not the Γερουσία he is so careful to distinguish from the Σύγκλητος in X. 18. 1, and XXXVI. 2. 6, but the Σύγκλητος itself. This argument is one of despair. No one of the passages from Polybius justifies the idea that our author ever confused the use of the two words, which confusion is à priori in the highest degree improbable in an author so careful as Polybius, who wrote with a knowledge of the Carthaginian history and constitution derived from Punophil historians, such as Philinus of Agrigentum, and from personal observation. When Polybius implies that the Γερουσία was composed of more than 30 members, the statement is per se to be implicitly trusted.

And all the more so because it is contradicted by no one save the least trustworthy of our five authorities, Livy. Aristotle's Γερουσία which he distinguishes from the '104' is almost certainly Polybius' Σύγκλητος. To compare a body of several hundreds possibly (see infra) to the Spartan '30' is not more extra ordinem than the parallel of the '104' to the Spartan '5.'

Aristotle speaks of Kings, Senate, and 'Hundred' with 'Hundred and Four': Polybius of Sufetes, Senate (Σύγκλητος) and Γερουσία. Below I hope to identify this Γερουσία of Polybius with the Hundred-and-Four of Aristotle. But at present my point is that Aristotle does not imply a Γερουσία of 30: Polybius implies a Γερουσία of more than 30: and the two are consistent in the full according to this interpretation.

Diodorus, XXXII. 6, confirms Polybius. When the Carthaginians have to send 'some of the Γερουσία,' they send 'Thirty of their most noted men'; and it is flying in the face of all grammar, to say that τριάκοντα τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων represents *all* the Γερουσία or all the ἐπιφανέστατοι. Both Polybius and Diodorus clearly prove that the Γερουσία numbered more than thirty.

However, Livy's 'sanctius consilium' seems a difficulty.

Here two alternatives present themselves.

(*a*) If we regard the maxima vis ad regendum as implying constitutional authority, we have a direct contradiction of Livy and Polybius. For Diodorus XX. 59 and Polybius VI. 51 maintain the Γερουσία had such powers as Livy ascribes to his consilium. Now Livy's 'Senate' = Seniores (XXXIV. 61. 15) and seems to be identical with Polybius' Γερουσία—to judge from the part it plays in Livy. Cf. Livy XXI. 3. Hence it appears that, whereas Polybius makes his Γερουσία predominant, that same body is subordinated by Livy to a certain sanctius consilium of Thirty.

If we are to be reduced to a flat contradiction, there can be no hesitation in preferring Polybius; and that not only on grounds of general comparative credibility. For Livy's mistake is so easily explicable, and I imagine Mommsen has therefore fallen the more easily into the same error. Aristotle, II. 11. 3, engendered in Livy, upon his glance at the passage which I conceive must have been somewhat cursory, the erroneous idea that the Γερουσία consisted, like the Spartan, of 30 members. In Polybius he found the number 30 also employed of gerusiasts who go upon embassies (Polybius I. 87. 3). A hasty inference is drawn that there was a Consilium of 30. This must have been Polybius' Γερουσία, as Livy sees all in Carthage transacted through it (Polybius I. 68. 5, VII. 9. 1, III. 20. 9, 33. 4). It therefore controlled the 'Senate' mentioned by Polybius (X. 18. 1, XXXVI. 2. 6). Hence Livy's assertion, after what I must regard, in the light of this alternative, as a too hasty scrutiny of his authorities. Mommsen, feeling, I suppose, little more interest in the subject than the Roman historian, merely expands the picture and presses home the analogy to Sparta, in

talking of 28 Gerusiasts and two Sufetes. Duncker manages to discover the alternative possibility of error and excludes the Sufetes from the Body of 30. But all these theories, whether of 28 or 30 gerusiasts, of a Body of 30 or 32 in total, display equally neglect of Polybius and hasty blind inference from Aristotle. If Livy was the progenitor of the theory, he was the progenitor of error.

(*b*) But the second alternative perhaps may relieve us from the necessity of including Livy in the condemnation. There is no stringent need to regard the 'maxima vis' as implying constitutional authority rather than de facto influence. His 'Senate' is not clearly proved = Polybius' Γερουσία. Perhaps it = Polybius' Σύγκλητος. If so, the principes seniorum = the Gerusiasts—and the predominance among the whole body of Senators of some 30 of the Gerusiasts, who were representatives of the 30 leading Carthaginian families (cf. Susemihl), was natural. Livy certainly had no clear idea of the distinction between Γερουσία and Σύγκλητος, for he translates Polybius' words δύο τῶν ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας πέντε καὶ δέκα τῶν ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου (x. 18. 1) by 'quindecim fere senatoribus' (xxvi. 51. 2). And this is an indication how very broken a reed is Livy to rely on in the face of the direct evidence of Polybius and Diodorus. This however is by the way. We certainly accept the fact that 30 Gerusiasts were sometimes chosen to go on embassies (cf. Polybius i. 68. 5, 87. 3, Diodorus xiv. 47, xxxii. 6, Livy xxx. 16. 3)—this being a customary duty it appears of the Γερουσία's members. There is no objection to the inference that there was an Executive Consilium of 30 of the Gerusiasts charged with this mission, who acquired a position of superior prestige and influence among their fellow Gerusiasts or Senators. Possibly Diodorus' use of the phrase 'οἱ ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας' (xiv. 47) represents such a committee, unless it is the ordinary grammatical idiom. But what we do maintain is that this superiority was de facto, not de lege, extra-constitutional, not legal—(meaning ordained by the Law of the Constitution). The legal powers were in the hands of the Γερουσία—a larger Body certainly than 30 as Polybius proves—nor is he in any way inconsistent with Aristotle, Diodorus, or

Justin. If he is inconsistent with Livy, so much the worse for Livy. But alternative (*b*) suggests a means of harmonising all five of our authorities.

However this may be as regards Livy, I regard the following as now established against Mommsen:

(1) That the Carthaginian Γερουσία which possessed legislative and administrative powers was *not* Livy's Sanctius Consilium of 30, but a Body of larger numbers.

(2) That if this Sanctius Consilium existed it formed an Executive Committee of the Γερουσία, employed in negotiations with foreign States, the number thirty being commonly employed for embassies.

We may now proceed to develop this position, and ask who did compose this Γερουσία.

The Γερουσία not being composed of 30, the next temptation is to create two Bodies in the Constitution (apart from the Σύγκλητος).

(1) A Γερουσία of 100—with legislative powers.

(2) A Body of 104—'judges'—with judicial powers.

This temptation is also to be resisted.

That the '104,' akin to the Spartan ephorate, is identical with the '100'—that oligarchic body which possessed the 'greatest power'—which was the all-controlling Γερουσία—may be argued I conceive with no little confidence, not only on very strong à priori grounds, but also on a certain measure of positive indication and an absence of opposing testimony.

According to Justin (XIX. 2. 5. 6) about 450 B.C. a judicial Body of 100 was created from among the 'Senators' to check the overweening power of the single house of Mago. These hundred judges quickly acquired a position of unalloyed supremacy, and by 195 B.C. they were all supreme in the State, the office being held for life. Hannibal in the interests of the democracy sought to diminish this power by enacting that the judicial office should be annual (Livy, XXXIII. 46).

Now, in Aristotle's time the 'Hundred' had the greatest power. Their functions as described by Justin and Livy remind us irresistibly of the Ephorate of Sparta, and therefore of the Aristotelian '104.' Roman writers naturally would

give the 'Judicum Ordo' in round numbers—especially if, as Susemihl suggests, the extra four were the two Sufetes and two high priests, being ex officio members. Moreover they had an exact parallel at home in their own Court of the 'Centumviri,' which consisted of 105 members. Nothing in the seventh section of Aristotle's chapter implies that the Body he there alludes to is distinct from the Body he describes with greater precision in the third section. On this one point there is great unanimity of opinion among historians generally (with very few exceptions, cf. Susemihl) that Aristotle's 104 = Aristotle's 100 = Justin's 100 judices = Livy's judicum ordo.

But secondly I believe that this Body, we will henceforth call it 'The Hundred,' is identical with Polybius' Γερουσία. Nor are arguments wanting to defend the position.

Aristotle in his day says the Body of 100 had the greatest power. Justin notably makes the '*Senate*' the supreme judicial tribunal in 310 B.C. (XXII. 3) and the chief power in the State—in fact the sole mainstay of the Aristocratic Constitution against tyrannic or democratic innovation in the year 340 B.C. (XXI. 4). Justin's 'Senatus,' like Livy's, probably, represents the Γερουσία of his Greek authority. Yet even if we force it to mean the Σύγκλητος of Polybius—the point remains that in Aristotle's day the 'μεγίστη ἀρχή' is a legislative body and not a judicial simply, and to be identified with Aristotle's Hundred = the Judicum Ordo. This is amply confirmed by Polybius, who ascribes the 'Aristocratic Power' to τὸ γερόντιον (VI. 51), and also by his silence. If Aristotle's Hundred, = the Judicum Ordo, was all supreme in 195 B.C., as about 300 B.C., how comes it that Polybius leaves it entirely unmentioned? The reply is that such a gross omission is impossible in Polybius, and is not perpetrated. For the Γερουσία which transacts all business, as Polybius and Diodorus and Livy testify, was identical with this most powerful Body in the Constitution. The position is established, and yet may be further notably strengthened. The Hundred and Four are compared to the ephors. One chief duty of the ephors was to accompany the Spartan king as a controlling body on foreign campaigns. The 'judges' at Carthage were instituted to con-

trol the Generals on foreign campaigns. Justin, it is true, asserts this control took the form of a scrutiny on their return from the field, which is doubtless true. But was this all the supervision exercised? On several occasions we find gerusiasts especially, and even senators also, in the army of a Carthaginian general. Cp. Polybius I. 21. 6, VII. 9. 1, X. 18. 1. And the terms in which Polybius speaks of these gerusiasts surely forbid us to conceive of them as being present in merely a private military capacity. Boodes is *ὑπάρχων τῆς γερουσίας* (I. 21. 6). The gerusiasts are carefully mentioned as ratifying the alliance with Philip of Macedon as well as the General, Hannibal (VII. 9. 1). Such a presence and authority of gerusiasts in the field recal at once the powers of the Spartan ephorate, and with the recollection comes a further confirmation of the identification of Polybius' *Γερουσία* with the Aristotelian Hundred (and Four) and Justin's Judices. Moreover, how fruitless, even on paper, would have been Hannibal's democratic attack on aristocratic privileges in 195 B.C. if only the 'Judges' suffered, but the *Γερουσία* continued enjoying the full tide of power unabated. But yearly office as judge, = gerusiast, would at once open the field of election to many perchance even of the *δῆμος*, whether pentarchistically elected or no; and thus the democracy's power would be increased because the democrat was now offered some chance of a seat in the Upper House, which before this had been practically hereditary—and this was preferable to an attack on that House's existence. However this may be—the purport of Hannibal's reforms we know for certain was democratic, and the stronghold of aristocratic privilege was the *Γερουσία*. Hannibal attacked the judicial prerogatives of the aristocracy—but had his assault been directed against a separate Body of Judges, how small the depression of Carthaginian Aristocracy with their *Γερουσία* left with powers unimpaired! At Rome the tribune's plan of campaign against the Senate was the creation of a separate Judicial Body. This plan succeeded so well that the Senate's power was hopelessly crippled until the Gracchan legislation on this point was rescinded. The culminating argument, which completes the defences of my position, though à priori, yet, when combined with the positive

arguments already adduced; with the absence of counter testimony; with the striking parallel from Roman history; is I hope conclusive. As Ihne says, 'It is impossible that the Carthaginian Senate (i.e. the Γερουσία) could have remained at the head of the administration of affairs (as we know it did) if the judicial office had passed into other hands.' Aristotle indeed distinguishes the Γερουσία and the Hundred (and Four). But, as we have seen, Aristotle's Γερουσία may well = the Σύγκλητος of Polybius—and thus an entire harmony of all our five authorities is produced by the identification of the Hundred (and Four) with Polybius' and Diodorus' Γερουσία. Such an identification has however, so far as I know, never before been proposed, and can result only from a coincident study of the 20 odd passages relative to the Carthaginian Constitution.

The remaining element in the Aristocratic section of the Constitution is the Σύγκλητος mentioned by Polybius and Diodorus, and distinguished by them from the Γερουσία (Polyb. x. 18. 1, xxxvi. 2. 6, Diod. xiv. 47). This was older than the Γερουσία because the Γερουσία was created out of it (Justin. xix. 2). It was also more numerous, as Justin's words prove. Moreover, in Mago's captured army at New Carthage were to be found only two members of the Γερουσία and as many as fifteen of the Σύγκλητος (Polybius x. 18. 1). And reckoning the numbers of the Γερουσία as a round hundred, those of the Σύγκλητος must have been considerably more, since the Romans demanded as hostages in 149 B.C. three hundred of the sons of gerusiasts and senators (Polybius, xxxvi. 2. 6).

Thus we see that the Aristocratic element in the Constitution consisted of

(1) A large Σύγκλητος, of numbers unknown, from which was chosen

(2) A Γερουσία of a Hundred (and Four probably ex officio members), from whom was appointed

(3) An executive Committee of Thirty.

The simplification effected may perhaps be an additional recommendation to this view of the Constitution.

BERNARD W. HENDERSON.

LUCRETIANA.

THE following observations are the result of some recent study of the text. The lines are quoted by Lachmann's numbers. O means the Leyden folio (oblongus, Munro's A), Q the Leyden quarto (quadratus, Munro's B); 'Brieger' the Teubner edition of 1894.

I.

285 sqq. nec ualidi possunt pontes uenientis aquai
uim subitam tolerare: ita magno turbidus imbri
molibus incurrit, ualidis cum uiribus amnis
dat sonitu magno stragem, uoluitque sub undis
grandia saxa, ruit *qua* quidquid fluctibus obstat.

289 'qua' Q, *om.* O. It must be allowed that Q's reading can be construed, as it is by Munro, 'qua aliquid fluctibus obstat, id ruit (active) amnis.' But, apart from the question of obscurity, the check in the rushing river's career imposed by the stop at 'saxa' seems fatal to the reading. I think therefore with Lachmann (and Brieger) that *que* must be written after *ruit*; but as their '*ita*' is very flat (contrast the 'ita' of 286), I should prefer to continue with VT. Of *quicquid* in the sense of *quidque* Munro ad loc. gives many examples, and for the common phrase 'ut quisque' it is enough to refer to the lexicons. With '*ut* quicquid' again it is clear that 'ruit' is active; not so with 'ubi qu.' any more than with 'qua.'

453 sq. pondus uti *saxis*, calor *ignis*, liquor *aquae*
tactus corporibus cunctis intactus inani.

Lachmann was thought by Munro to have proved *v.* 454 to be spurious because formations like 'intactus' only occurred in the abl. as *iniussu*, and datives were not consistent with genitives in 453. The first argument has been refuted by Brieger with the aid of Livy 42. 12. 7 'per incultum ac neglegentiam,' a place which Lachmann corrupted. The second must be examined in connexion with 453. Apart from it, there seems no reason for rejecting the line: that tangibility is an inseparable property of all bodies, intangibility of void, seems a statement in itself quite unexceptionable. In 453 the received corrections are *saxist—aquai*. If *aquai* be right, it must be genitive. For there is very doubtful warrant for a dat. in *-āī* (which Brieger assumes) in Latin, and certainly none in Lucretius. But a dative seems required for *coniunctum* as in 449; and whoever wrote 454 undoubtedly had datives in his text. I would therefore propose to keep *saxis—aquae*, to read IGNI for 'ignis' and add STAT at the end of the line, cf. I. 747 'neque pausam stare fragori.'

751 sq. conicere ut possis ex hoc quae cernere non quis
extremum quod habent minimum consistere...

I shall use Munro's explanation, *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology* I. p. 29, to improve upon his supplement *in illis*. 'You may infer from this' he says 'that because these things which you cannot see (that is to say the atoms, the *primordia caeca*) have an extreme,' [quod is rather the neuter of the relative] 'there exists a minimum in them *likewise*' (my italics). Read therefore ET ILLIS which agrees with Epicurus' statement *ταύτῃ τῇ ἀναλογίᾳ νομιστέον καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ ἀτόμῳ ἐλάχιστον κεχρῆσθαι*. (ap. Diogen. Laert. X. 58). For 'consistere' and its construction see I. 168. That Lucretius uses *et* for *etiam* requires no proof now.

859 sqq. praeterea quoniam cibus auget corpus alitque
scire licet nobis uenas et sanguen et ossa 860
. . . . . .

siue cibos omnis commixto corpore dicent
esse et habere in se neruorum corpora parua
ossaque et omnino uenas partisque cruoris,
fiet uti cibus omnis et aridus et liquor ipse
ex alienigenis rebus constare putetur
ossibus et neruis *sanie*que et sanguine mixto.

Brieger has done ill in returning to the *uenis* of Avancius, Lambinus and Lachmann. In a finished work, the variation *sanie* for 'uenis' in one out of three statements of an argument, whose other portions correspond as accurately as in 860 and 862 sq., would certainly be ground for suspicion. But once admit, as Brieger with all the world allows, that the *de rerum natura* is not such a work; and there ceases to be excuse for a violent alteration of a word which is appropriate in this connexion, 'sanies' being the equivalent of *ἰχώρ* as Munro has shown. To complete the defence an explanation of the variation should be suggested. I find this in 864 where food is divided into solid and liquid, to the former of which will correspond *ossa* and *nerui*, and to the latter *sanies* and *sanguen*. There is a not very different looseness of expression in another passage where *cibus* is spoken of, IV. 637, the *saliua* being classed among the foods of men, though strictly it is only necessary for their digestion.

infernaque suppeditantur
ex infinito cita corpora materiai.

Munro has without doubt rightly explained the sense of *inferna* as 'from beneath' (see his note). But the adjective cannot have this meaning. Read therefore INFERNEQVE. For *inferne* which occurs at least three times in Lucr. cf. VI. 187. For *-ĕquĕ* cf. e.g. I. 666. 'superne' is similarly corrupted in our MSS to 'superna' at VI. 192, 942.

II.

191 sqq. nec cum subsiliunt ignes ad tecta domorum
et celeri flamma degustant tigna trabesque
sponte sua facere id sine ui subiecta putandumst.

A number of improbable alterations of SVBIECTA have been proposed through its not being observed that *subiecta* is neuter because 'flammarum corpora' (187) is neuter, and that the *sub-* has the sense of '*sub*siliunt' shooting *up*, as also in Virgil *Georg.* IV. 385 'ter flamma ad summum tecti *subiecta* reluxit.'

422 sq. omnis enim sensus quae mulcet cumque ⏑ – –
haut sine principiali aliquo leuore creatast.

The end of 422 which contained a feminine substantive has been driven out by 'uidentur' from 421. Comparing the neuters of 426 and the 'res extera' et cett. of 435 we must admit that Brieger's RES would be better than Lachmann's 'figura,' even if the latter were admissible. Brieger however I imagine will have no following in tampering with 'cumque' (he suggests *quaeque iuuat* from V. 1390; but 'iuuat' is not wanted, see ib. 570). Nor do I see any reason for the despairing obelus, as there is only one word which can have filled the gap—the Lucretian appeal to the reader in TIBI. It would be captious to object to TIBI RES as a hexameter ending when we have 'ad has res', 'et id nos', 'ibi iam', 'gruum quam,' 'queant se,' 'uti lux,' all in the first 200 lines of book IV.

885 sqq. Tum porro quid id est animum quod percutit, ipsum
quod mouet et uarios sensus expromere cogit,
ex insensilibus ne credas sensile gigni?

Lucretius with true philosophical instinct here sets about removing an objection to his psychology in the strong repugnance of the mind to admit that the sentient can be formed out of the non-sentient. 'Then again what is that which strikes your mind, affects that mind and constrains it to give utterance to many different thoughts, to save you from believing that the sensible is begotten out of senseless things.' This is Munro's translation, and it is the necessary one. 'uarii sensus' must refer to the different shifts to which the mind is driven to avoid accepting the unwelcome theory: it cannot express the single feeling of dislike which so impels it. How then does Munro propose to get this out of the Latin? Thus: ''*varios sensus*,' i.e. varias sententias: it is very probable that his

frequent use of *sensus* with its primary meaning in this part of his poem has prompted him to use it here, rather than avoid it, in a different signification: see n. to I. 875.' I am relieved from examining the relevancy of this argument to the present passage by a quotation from Quintilian, which I owe to Dr Peile, VIII. 5 1 sq. '*sententiam ueteres* quod *animo* sensissent uocaverunt. id cum est apud oratores frequentissimum tum etiam in usu cottidiano quasdam reliquias habet; nam et iuraturi 'ex animi nostri sententia' et gratulantes 'ex sententia' dicimus. non raro tamen et sic locuti sunt ut *sensa* sua dicerent; nam *sensus corporis* uidebatur. sed *consuetudo iam tenuit ut mente* concepta *sensus* uocaremus, lumina autem, praecipueque in clausulis posita, sententias.' If Quintilian's statement required support, it would be found in the entire absence of examples in republican Latin for the required meaning of *sensus*[1]. There were other persons besides Lucretius who might have been affected by the frequency of *sensus* in this context: his copyists. To one of these we appear to be indebted for the word. What Lucretius wrote, we may learn from a Lucretian passage of Catullus 65. 3 'nec potis est dulcis Musarum *expromere* FETVS | *mens animi*.' *f*, *s* and *t*, *s* are both confused more than once in our MSS, and the addition of the stroke for the nasal is also common. Catullus appears to imitate Lucr. again at *v.* 960 (= Cat. 68. 4). Munro has pointed out on III. 57 that Catullus imitated Lucretius; but the imitations are not confined to Cat. 64.

1070 sqq. nunc et seminibus si tanta est copia quantam
enumerare aetas animantum non queat omnis
. . . . . .
uis eadem natura manet *et q. s.*

Brieger rightly maintains that a line has fallen out after 1071 in which the argument was completed by the mention of the 'locus' (1068). But *sique*, his correction of 'uis,' leaves 'manet' without the necessary dative. Nearer too to the MSS would be HISQVE or ISQVE, dat. of ĭs, a form often confused

[1] The use of *sensus* for 'perception' or the like, as in Lucr. I. 460, Hor. *Serm.* I. 3. 103, is of course not here denied.

with 'his,' Neue *Formenlehre* II[3] p. 383 and Lachmann on IV. 934.

1160 sq. *conterimus*que boues et uiris agricolarum
conficimus ferrum uix aruis suppeditati.

When we find two words of similar appearance, the one of which, 'conficimus,' is more suitable to animate objects, and the other, 'conterimus,' to inanimate objects, occurring with their functions reversed in the same part of two successive verses, we naturally suspect that for this the copyists are responsible and that we may venture to reverse their positions. Read then 'CONFICIMVSque boues—CONTERIMVS ferrum.'

III.

83—86. The parallel quoted from Virgil *Aen.* x. 9, 'quis metus aut *hos* | aut hos arma sequi ferrumque lacessere suasit?,' has three marks of being an imitation of this passage, the subject 'metus,' the correspondence of 'hos'—'hos' to 'hunc'—'hunc,' and chief, the use and construction of 'suasit.' To obelize 'suadet,' as Brieger does, is absurd. But the lines cannot be left as they stand. In their present place they are an anti-climax; but so also would anything be which followed on 79—82, where we are told that men often kill themselves through fear of death. Our passage, which shows the fear as an *incitement to crime*, must be placed earlier, and the best position is after 40.

Thus we should arrange 37 sqq.

et metus ille foras praeceps Acherontis agendus
funditus humanam uitam qui turbat ab imo,
omnia suffundens mortis nigrore, neque ullam
esse uoluptatem liquidam puramque relinquit. 40
hunc uexare pudorem, hunc uincula amicitiai 83
rumpere et in summa pietatem euertere suadet.
nam iam saepe homines patriam carosque parentis
prodiderunt uitare Acherusia templa petentes. 86
nam quod saepe homines morbos magis esse timendos 41
infamemque ferunt uitam quam Tartara leti, *et q. s.*

Then 79 sqq. will run

et saepe usque adeo mortis formidine uitae
percipit humanos odium lucisque uidendae
ut sibi consciscant maerenti pectore letum
obliti fontem curarum hunc esse timorem. 82
nam ueluti pueri trepidant atque omnia caecis 87
in tenebris metuunt, sic nos in luce timemus
interdum nilo quae sunt metuenda magis quam
quae pueri in tenebris fingunt pauitantque futura. 90
hunc igitur terrorem, &c.

The reason of the misplaced lines being put after 82 was the idea that *hunc* in 83 meant the same as *hunc—timorem,* a misconception I am surprised to see shared by Brieger.

238 sqq. nec tamen haec sat sunt ad sensum cuncta creandum
nil horum quoniam recepit res posse creare
sensiferos motus, *quaedam que* mente *uolutat.*

Here, again, I see no reason for the obelus, or for the violent remedies hitherto recommended. For 'quaedam' read NEDVM and of course QVAE, and for 'uolutat' VOLVTAS. The sense is 'none of these things is capable of producing the motions of sensation; *not to speak* of mental activities.' For the second person cp. e.g. I. 915 sqq. 'denique iam quaecumque in rebus cernis apertis | si fieri non posse putas quin materiai | corpora consimili natura praedita fingas, | hac ratione tibi pereunt primordia rerum.'

408 sqq. ut lacerato oculo circum si pupula mansit
incolumis, stat cernundi uiuata potestas,
dummodo ne totum corrumpas luminis orbem 410
et circum caedas aciem solamque relinquas.
id quoque enim sine pernicie non fiet *eorum.*
at si tantula pars oculi media illa peresa est,
occidit extemplo lumen tenebraeque secuntur,
incolumis quamuis alioqui splendidus *orbis,* 415
hoc anima atque animus uincti sunt foedere semper.

Line 412 has been corrupted or condemned through simple neglect of the fact that Latin has no dual, for which *eorum*

(= *αὐτοῖν*) must therefore do duty here. The sense is that cutting away all the eyeball will destroy both eye and eyeball. It may be said that Lucr. is not really concerned with the eyeball; but the vague and inclusive 'eorum' is a very natural looseness.

In 415 (for we may pass over Lachmann's and Munro's objections to 'alioqui') a very slight change will set matters right. Add *t* to 'incolumis,' strike out *s* from 'orbis,' and read INCOLVMIST—ORBI. The subject is 'oculus,' and 'quamuis' takes the ind. as in 403. The form of the abl. 'orbi' needs no illustration.

1067 sqq. hoc se quisque modo fugit (at quem scilicet, ut fit, effugere haut potis est, *ingratius* haeret) et odit propterea, morbi quia causam non tenet aeger.

This passage affords a striking example of how the greatest scholars may unite in corrupting a perfectly sound text. Because *ingratius* is a corruption of *ingratis* in another place (VI. 216), Lambinus, Lachmann, Madvig, Bernays and Munro all change it here, clear though it is that what you try to escape 'ingratis haeret,' 'clings to you against your will.' Lucretius' point is that the attempt to escape makes the mischief *worse*. The comparative adverb is idiomatic; Ov. *Her.* 6. 157 'nec male parta diu teneat *peius*que relinquat,' Livy VI. 27. 3 'aggrauantibus summam etiam inuidiosius tribunis,' Claud. *IV. Cons. Hon.* 254 'redit pollentius.' I have of course punctuated as Munro.

IV.

104 sunt igitur tenues *formarum dissimilesque* effigiae.

Purmann's 'formae rerum' for *formarum* is certainly correct, but 'similesque' does not appear so certain. For if, as Munro says, '*dis*similesque' was written to fill up the verse, why was a word chosen which gave the very opposite of the obvious sense? I propose HIS SIMILESQVE. 'formae rerum' will be then like 'rerum effigiae' (42) 'rerum simulacra' (30); and 'similis' takes dat. as well as gen. in Lucretius.

191 sqq. quapropter simulacra pari ratione necesse est
inmemorabile per spatium transcurrere posse
temporis in puncto, primum quod paruola causa
est procul a tergo quae prouehat atque propellat,
quod superest, ubi tam uolucri leuitate ferantur. 195

Here too I hope to remove the last editor's obelus. In 191 sqq. Lucretius is showing why the 'simulacra' should pass over an incredibly long distance in an incredibly short time. Now 195 gives the reason for something, 'seeing that they move with such flying lightness.' What can this be? Take the question in conjunction with 'paruola causa' which all editors attack, and it is clear that it is this: a very small cause is *enough* to send the 'simulacra,' seeing they fly so lightly. 'paruola' then should be kept, and SAT procul a TERGOST read. 'procul' of course goes with 'prouehat atque propellat': 'first because a small cause (i.e. push) behind is enough to propel and carry them far on their onward journey' (quod superest). The hyperbaton is Lucretian. He has many other and stronger cases. I quote one from Munro's index (s. v. *words*) III. 196 sq. 'namque *papaueris* aura potest suspensa leuisque | cogere ut ab summo tibi diffluat *altus aceruus*.' The transposition of *st*, for which see the references collected by Munro index *s.v.*, appears to have caused the corruption.

822 sqq. Illud in his rebus uitium uementer auessis
effugere, errorem uitareque praemetuenter,
lumina ne facias oculorum clara creata,
prospicere ut possemus et ut proferre *uia* 825
proceros passus, ideo fastigia posse
surarum ac feminum pedibus fundata plicari,
bracchia tum porro ualidis ex apta lacertis
esse manusque datas utraque ex parte ministras, 830
ut facere ad uitam possemus quae foret usus.

The accepted emendation of 825 is Lachmann's 'queamus.' If however 'possimus' (MSS for 'possemus') is ungrammatical here and in 831 ('ubi Marullus soloece *possimus*,' Lach.), the fact that *quiremus* was metrically unavailable would not make 'queamus' grammatical. This, which is the only justification

for the present tense I can think of, is not that given by Lachmann, who writes 'set in hoc de quo agitur versu ut priora praeteritum tempus, *ita quae secuntur praesens—exigunt* (my italics) 'et ut proferre' &c. I quote from Munro's translation, italicising enough to show the utter vanity of the distinction: '...to avoid the mistake of supposing that the bright lights of the eyes *were* made in order that we might see; and that the tapering ends of the shanks and hams *are* attached to the feet as a base[1] in order to enable us to step out with long strides; or again that the forearms *were* slung to the stout upper arms and ministering hands given us on each side that we might be able to discharge the needful duties of life.' On palaeographical grounds '*quea*mus' has no strong claim to represent *uia*, whose concluding letters were lost; compare Munro's critical note. An easier restoration would be VICISSIM 'again;' for which sense see IV. 1190, V. 840 'orba pedum partim, manuum uiduata uicissim, | muta sine ore etiam.' 'possemus' is carried on with 'proferre.'

877 sqq. nunc qui fiat uti passus proferre queamus
cum uolumus *uare*que datum sit membra mouere
et quae res tantum hoc oneris protrudere nostri
corporis insuerit, dicam.

I shall quote Lachmann's note on 878 as it contains more than one warning. 'Impressi VARIAEQVE. versu 1007 *quadratus Ad varae fugiunt volucres;* quod si scivisset Wakefieldus, probasset ut hic *vare* probavit; 'bene,' si Forbigerum audimus; superest ut in libro II. 95 scribatur *adsiduo varoque exercita motu* et in V. 228 *At varae crescunt pecudes.*' Scorn for your adversaries could hardly go further than in the last-quoted sentence. What a pity it should be misplaced! First, the corruption of 1007 in Q must be regarded as a freak. 'uarus' is much more likely to be corrupted to 'uarius,' as no doubt Lachmann knew; and how easy, for example, to retort 'superest ut in Hor. *Serm.* II. 3. 56 *huic uarium* scribas'!

[1] As Munro does not translate the words 'posse plicari' and in his commentary appears to take them wrongly, it may be as well to point out that they refer to the power of the limbs to fold at the joints.

Secondly, Lucretius is here speaking of *walking* ('passus *pro*ferre,' 'hoc oneris *pro*trudere') only; and walking is not '*uarie* membra mouere,' but '*uare* membra mouere,' as in 825 'proferre *proceros* passus' (take *long* steps). Compare Ov. *A.A.* 3. 303 sq. 'illa uelut coniunx Vmbri rubicunda mariti | ambulat, extentos uarica fertque gradus.' But it may be said that 'uare' would be avoided as indicating a deformity. This is not so. It is one of the words in Horace's selection of euphemisms, *Serm.* I. 3. 47, 'hunc *uarum* distortis cruribus...balbutit.' There is no deformity about 'uarae manus' Ov. 'uara bracchia' Stat., Mart., 'uara cornua' Ov.; in all 'uarus' means simply 'far apart.' Lastly, it might be urged that the adverb 'uare' is found nowhere else. Those who count this an objection may begin by emending 'praemetuenter' in 823 above.

V.

122 sqq. quae procul usque adeo diuino a numine distent,
inque deum numero quae sint indigna *uideri*
notitiam potius praebere ut posse *putentur*
quid sit uitali motu sensuque remotum.

From the point of view of sense Christ's change 'uidentur' with 'dist*a*nt' seems necessary; but the same result would be obtained, and perhaps more easily[1], if the ends of the two verses 123, 124 were transposed, and in 124 for the resulting 'puteri' were read 'putarī,' i.e. PVTARIM.

153 sq. quare etiam sedes quoque nostris sedibus esse
dissimiles debent, tenues de corpore eorum.

Munro has, I think, met one objection to the tradition, the use of *de* for *pro;* but the awkward asyndeton remains. If this be a sufficient reason, as it is certainly a reason, for making a change, I would change one letter and read 'tenues Q. E' i.e. 'tenuesQVE E.'

[1] With Lachmann's generally accepted restoration of the paging of the archetype both this passage and 564 sq. (inf.) would come on the verso, and therefore their ends being on the *inner* margin would not be so liable to be lost. This, it should be said, will also apply to I. 453 sq. supra.

564 sq. nec nimio solis maior *rota* nec minor ardor
esse potest, nostris quam sensibus esse uidetur.

Mr Duff in a recent number of this *Journal* (XX. pp. 315 sqq.) has rightly questioned the tradition and proposed *autem* for *ardor*. That *rota* and *ardor* cannot both be right, he has proved; but not, I think, that it is the latter which is corrupt. 'ardor solis' 'the blazing sun' is in itself quite unexceptionable, cf. 587 'dum cernitur ardor eorum'; and looking at *uere* 572, I am inclined to suggest RE in the same sense, instead of *rota* which may well have crept in from 432.

1318 sqq. irritata leae iaciebant corpora saltu
undique et aduersum uenientibus ora petebant
et necopinantis a tergo diripiebant
deplexaeque dabant in terram uolnere uictos,
morsibus adfixae ualidis atque unguibus uncis.

That 'deplexae' (1321) is found nowhere else is of little moment. But the compound appears to be an impossible one in any sense that can be assigned to it. *-plexus* is the participle of an obsolete *plecto* (= Greek πλέκω), whose place has been taken, like that of so many other 'third conjugation' verbs, by a 'first conjugation' one, *plico*. But neither καταπλακεῖσαι nor *deplicitae* nor *deplexae* could mean '*de* eis *pendentes* eisque *im*plicatae' as Turnebus, approved by Munro, says. Nor again is this the way an infuriated lioness brings a man or a horse to the ground. Try it. *amplexae* περιπλακεῖσαι, or COMPLEXAE συμπλακεῖσαι, would be intelligible. Both are used of men grappling with an enemy; but the latter seems preferable. '*con*uenit' is corrupted to '*de*uenit' in the two Leyden MSS (V_1 V_2) at Manilius I. 148, while it may be noted that the converse corruption of 'de-' to 'com-' seems to occur at VI. 242.

VI.

673 sqq. 'at nimis est ingens incendi turbidus ardor.'
scilicet, *et* fluuius qui uisus maximus *ei*
qui non ante aliquem maiorem uidit, et ingens

arbor homoque uidetur, et omnia de genere omni
maxima quae uidit quisque haec ingentia fingit.

Brieger is undoubtedly right in saying that the question is not what is *maximum* 'greatest,' but what is *ingens* 'enormous.' But the required sense may be got at much less cost than the alteration of *ei* to *cuique est* and the assumption of a lacuna. For *et* in 674 read VT, keep QVI VISVS, and add EST at the end of the line with some of the corrected MSS.

'But you say the wild blazing heat is enormously great.' Of course, just as to a man who has not seen a greater river the greatest one he has seen appears enormous ('ingens uidetur' 675 sq.).

948—958. Lucretius begins the paragraph (936 sqq.) which contains these corrupt and difficult lines with the words

Nunc omnis repetam quam raro corpore sint res
commemorare, quod in primo quoque carmine claret.

In 942 commences his present proof, which I print from that line onwards substantially as it appears in the MSS, except that, Brieger notwithstanding, I give Lachmann's correction of 'raro corpore nexum' in 958.

principio fit ut in speluncis saxa superne
sudent umore et guttis manantibu' stillent.
manat item nobis e toto corpore sudor.
crescit barba, pilique per omnia membra, per artus,
diditur in uenas cibus omnis, auget alitque
corporis extremas quoque partis unguiculosque.
frigus item transire per aes calidumque uaporem
sentimus, sentimus item transire per aurum
atque per argentum cum pocula plena tenemus.
denique per dissaepta domorum saxea uoces
peruolitant, permanat odor frigusque uaposque
ignis qui quoque uim ferri penetrare sueuit.
denique qua circum *caeli* lorica coercet.
morbida uisque simul cum extrinsecus insinuatur
et *tempestatem* terra caeloque *coorta*
in caelum terrasque remotae iure (iurae O^1) facessunt,
quandoquidem nil est nisi raro corpori' nexu.

The questions which surround the passage are divisible into two: the place and reading of 954, and the place and reading of 955 sqq.

Brieger alone of recent editors defends 'caeli' in 954. Quoting 492 sqq. 'undique quandoquidem per *caulas* aetheris omnis | et quasi per magni circum *spiracula* mundi | exitus introitusque elementis redditus extat', he says Lucretius 'caelum loricae comparat, quae *fuerat olim* pectorali ex loris de corio crudo factum...in quo pectorali plurima fuisse foramina *facile intelligitur*.' If *lorica* meant a respirator, or if Lucretius breathed through his chest, he might have compared the pervious atmosphere to a *lorica*; not otherwise. Brieger, as the words I have italicised show, is moreover himself aware that *lorica* in itself is not sufficiently distinctive to form the base of a simile of this kind. We should be told what sort of *lorica* is meant; a differentia must be added, and Lachmann's brilliant emendation *Galli* adds it. Lucretius is speaking of good conductors. Leather (*corium*) is a bad conductor, metal is a good one. And the 'Galli lorica' was made of iron; Varro *de lingua Lat.* v p. 121 'lorica, quod e loris de corio pectoralia faciebant. postea subcidit *Galli e ferro* sub id uocabulum, ex anulis, fere iam tunica,' as Lachmann quotes and emends it. But the emended line cannot be right where it is, first because of the non-Lucretian position of 'denique' following 'sueuit,' second because of the unsatisfactory sense. Munro writes 'Lucr. had doubtless seen or heard how in sieges fire in various shapes had taken effect on such steel cuirasses.' If, as we might gather from 'sieges,' the man is supposed to be inside the cuirass, we should expect to be told what was the effect upon *him*. The solution is that 954 belongs to 948 sqq. and should follow 950. 'We feel cold and heat through brass, through gold and silver cups, we feel them through an iron cuirass.' Any one who has travelled in a vehicle on a cold day with iron nails in his boots will easily understand this, and such effects from change in the temperature must have been disagreeably familiar to Roman soldiers. The object to 'coercet' is easily supplied out of 'sentimus.' The best explanation of the tradition would seem to be that 951—3 were written in

the margin and wrongly placed by the first editor[1]. Brieger assumes this, less well, for 948—50; but there is force in his remark 'credi non potest poetam primum de frigore et calore, tum de uoce, tertio loco de igni loqui uoluisse'.

I pass to consider the concluding lines which deal with the perviousness of certain media to the seeds of disease. Brieger has conferred two services upon Lucretius here by restoring 'iure' after Bernays for 'iura' (Lach., Munro, ed. 3,) in 956, and pointing out that something is lost before 955, though the second lacuna he marks *after* 955 is unnecessary. Munro gave up 'iure' because he was "admonished that *facesso* seems to have the sense of 'to be off' only as an imperative or quasi-imperative," thus flying from Scylla into Charybdis. For 'dicta, iocos, iussa, facessere' are well known; but who ever heard of 'iura facessere'? The admonition (whose?) was not false, but irrelevant: 'facessere' in this sense must convey a command *or else* have reference to such a command. Such a reference would be enough. To take an example from English, we cannot use 'have done' for 'stopping' generally; but to A's command 'Have done!' B may reply 'I have done.' I will give two examples of these imperatives turned indicatives[2]. 'salue,' 'saluete' produce 'sat salu*eo*' Pl. *Truc.* 259, 'salu*ebis* a meo Cicerone' Cic. *Att.* VI. 2. 10; χαῖρε produces *νῦν πᾶσι χαίρω, νῦν με πᾶς ἀσπάζεται* Soph. *O. T.* 596 'now it is 'hail!' with me' (cp. Jebb's note). Where then is the command here? It is contained in *remotae,* which Lach., Bernays and Brieger do ill to alter to 'remotas'; *remotae* is practically equivalent to 'facessere *iussae*', cf. Livy I. 48. 6. Compare also Cic. *Flacc.* 38 § 97 'ferrum ac lapides remoueantur, operae facessant.' The expression, including 'iure' which is to be taken with 'facessunt' (='with good reason') is grimly humorous.

But to proceed. A subject in the feminine plural has to be provided for 957. Munro obtained this from 'tempestate

[1] It is however also possible that the misplacement is due to the fact that *denique* begins both 954 and 951.

[2] Such a nicety might well have escaped Apuleius whose use is not in accordance with the canon, though it is possible, as Munro says, he generalised from the *imperative forms.*

in,' which he read with Lach. for 'tempestatem' (transposing 956 and 955), and 'morbida uis.' He compared 1098 'atque ea uis omnis morborum pestilitasque | aut extrinsecus ut nubes nebulaeque superne | per caelum ueniunt aut'—I continue the quotation—ipsa saepe coortae | de terra surgunt, ubi putorem umida nactast | intempestiuis pluuiisque et solibus icta.' This, however, shows us first that Lucretius did not mean to say that the 'tempestates' or 'nubes nebulaeque' brought the plague-seeds, but compared the passage of these to the passage of storms: which leads us to the easy conjecture VT TEMPESTATES —COORTAE, all but *ut* conjectured by Avancius and accepted by Lambinus and others. As Lucretius has explained how rain-clouds come from the earth ('fluuiis ex omnibus et simul ipsa | surgere de terra nebulas aestumque uidemus' 475 sq.) and from outside our sky ('in caelum extrinsecus' 483), he can use them as illustrations for plague-clouds. Next, 1098 sqq. show us that a line was lost which contained *pestilitas* or the like, as Brieger has seen. Further, 'extrinsecus' must then refer to the passage of infection through the sky from the world outside it, and the lost line have contained the corresponding reference to their origin in earth. I suggest the following supplement and correction:—

> <denique pestilitas de terra forte coorta>
> morbida uisque simul, cum extrinsecus insinuatur,
> ut tempestates, terra caeloque coortae,
> in caelum terrasque remotae iure facessunt,
> quandoquidem nil est nisi raro corpori' nexu.

The chiastic order 'terra caeloque' 'in caelum terrasque' appears to be intentional and bears out Munro's explanation, '*terra* coortae *in caelum* remotae,' '*caelo* coortae *in terram* remotae[1].' They pass indifferently from the one to the other

[1] It is curious to watch how in the case of these ideas Lucretius' order swings in the chiasmus, like a pendulum. 601 'caelum'—'terram,' 605 'tellus,' 607 'mundi' (=caeli).—Then, omitting 608—637, which are inclosed in brackets by Munro as out of place, 642 'agros' (='terram')—644 'caeli,' 650 'caelum,' 652 'terrai,' 663 'tellus,' 'caelum,' 665 'caelo,' 'terrae,' 667 'tellus' (*repeated* in 'terras' 668), 679 'caelum' (*repeated* in 670 'caelestia templa'), 678 'caelo,' 'terra.'

according to their origin. My supplement assumes the lines to be rightly placed where they are now. But this is perhaps doubtful, and they might be better placed after 1102, where they would not anticipate the proper discussion of the subject. In that case <sic ubi—> or the like might be read for <denique—>.

J. P. POSTGATE.

Postscript. I take this opportunity of withdrawing my conjecture in VI. 1023 (*Journal of Philology*, XVI. p. 129) in favour of Brieger's. In the same paper (p. 125), as Brieger rightly observed, *Jahresbericht f. d. Fortschritte d. Class. Altertumswissenschaft* 63. (1890) 228, I mistook the argument of I. 469 sq. (in the matter of 'corporis atque loci'); and it would have been better only to have said that these lines, clearly out of place as they are, were a marginal addition, intended as an explanation of *euenta* 467. In IV. 642 I now incline to think the MS order of words 'id quibus ut fiat causis cognoscere possis' too obscure to be genuine; but I should prefer to the accepted metathesis of *ut* and *id* the order 'id FIAT quibus ut' e. q. s., which would keep 'id' in its proper place at the beginning of the line.

ON THE NEW HECALE FRAGMENTS AND OTHER CALLIMACHEA.

THE fragments of the Callimachean epyllion Hecale which Gomperz edited, with an accompanying facsimile, from Archduke Rainer's tablet at Vienna in 1893, and of which Mr F. G. Kenyon has given an account in the *Classical Review* for 1893, pp. 429, 430, must have for all students of Alexandrian literature an unusual interest. The *Hecale* was one of the most famous works of Callimachus; Petronius Sat. 135 says

> Qualis in Actaea quondam fuit hospita terra
> Digna sacris Hecale, quam Musa loquentibus annis
> Battiadae (*codd.* Baccineas) ueteris miranti (-do *codd.*)
> tradidit aeuo,

and Näke[1], in his admirable dissertation on the fragments known before the discovery of the Rainer tablet, has shewn with all the immense erudition of his period that Ovid drew directly from the *Hecale* in his episode of Philemon and Baucis (M. VIII. 520 sqq.). It is much to be regretted that the writing of the fragments is, as will be clear to anyone who studies Gomperz' facsimile, in many cases illegible, and the text as given by Gomperz, and from him reprinted by Kenyon, quite

[1] It is remarkable that Näke, who ventured to hope for the discovery of the iambic *metaphrase* of the Hecale made in the reign of Anastasius by Marianus, thought it a hopeless impossibility to discover the actual poem of Callimachus (p. 26). What would he not have given to possess, as we now do, 30 or 40 complete, more or less continuous, lines of it! What patient thought would he not have devoted to the difficult task of supplementing the imperfect portions! In reading Näke's dissertation on the Hecale, it is impossible not to feel that classical philology, if in some points it has advanced, in others has receded, since his time.

uncertain. Prof. Weil has made some happy suggestions, but an edition based on a fresh inspection and with a fuller commentary is still greatly wanted.

Col. I. 4 sqq.

Μέσφ' ὅτε δὴ Θησεύς φιν ἀπόπροθι μακρὸν ἄυσε.
μίμνετε θαρσήεντες, ἐμῷ δέ τις Αἰγέϊ πατρὶ
νεύμενος ὥστ' ὠκιστος ἐς ἄστυρον ἀγγελιώτης
ὣς ἐνέποι—πολέων κεν ἀναψύξειε μεριμνέων—
Θησεὺς οὐχ ἕκας υἱὸς ἀπ' εὐύδρου Μαραθῶνος
ζωὸν ἄγων τὸν ταῦρον.

Theseus, leading the Marathonian bull, shouts to the cowering and terrified Athenians, to send the swiftest messenger they can find to announce to his father Aegeus that he has returned leading the bull in triumph alive.

v. 6 is cited by Suidas, with the v. l. *ὅστ'*. The papyrus has *ωστοκιστος*, with traces of something erased over the first *ο*. But there can be no doubt that Suidas has preserved the right reading. The verse is a very illustrative one, as exhibiting in a marked manner the un-Homeric tinge which Callimachus introduced into his epyllion by such forms as *ἄστυρον* and *ἀγγελιώτης* (though this latter is found in the Homeric Hymn to Hermes).

In v. 8 the papyrus gives ογχ$^{\text{εκτας}}_{\text{ι}}$ογτος. At the first glance I felt sure that this was a direct imitation of Od. II. 40

Ὦ γέρον, οὐχ ἑκὰς οὗτος ἀνήρ, τάχα δ' εἴσεαι αὐτός,
ὃς λαὸν ἤγειρα.

And in spite of Gomperz' stubborn refusal to accept any restoration of the words as probable, I have no doubt that this was what the poet wrote.

Θησεὺς οὐχ ἑκὰς οὗτος, ἀπ' εὐύδρου Μαραθῶνος
ζωὸν ἄγων τὸν ταῦρον.

'Theseus is not far off—the man that stands here—leading the bull alive from well-water'd Marathon.'

In Col. II. vv. 1—3 are more conjectural, if the facsimile may be trusted, than to make any restoration safe. Particularly

the form ἀφῆ in 3 as well as the preceding word δηναιον are to me extremely suspicious. Weil's conjecture λικναιον is ingenious, but the word before it is not certainly εσω, and the whole verse labours with difficulties: for allowing that ἔσω λικναῖον 'within the cradle,' sc. the κίστη in which Erichthonius was inclosed, might have been written by Callimachus, in spite of ἔσω preceding instead of following its accusative, still what is της?

In Col. III, though many of the words are lost, enough remains to shew the general meaning. As Gomperz explains, the story is in outline the same which Ovid has told in Met. II. 552 sqq.

nam tempore quodam
Pallas Erichthonium, prolem sine matre creatam,
Clauserat Actaeo texta de uimine cista.
Virginibusque tribus gemino de Cecrope natis
Et legem dederat, sua ne secreta uiderent.
Abdita fronde leui densa speculabar ab ulmo,
Quid facerent. commissa duae sine fraude tuentur
Pandrosos atque Herse: timidas uocat una sorores
Aglaurus nodosque manu diducit, et intus
Infantemque uident adporrectumque draconem.
Acta deae refero. pro quo mihi gratia talis
Redditur, ut dicar tutela pulsa Mineruae
Et ponar post noctis auem. mea poena uolucres
Admonuisse potest, ne uoce pericula quaerant.

In the Metamm., the raven (*coruus*), on his way to reveal to his master Apollo that his love Coronis was unfaithful to him and had transferred her affections to a mortal paramour, is met by a crow (*cornix*) who warns him to take example from the punishment which had befallen herself (the crow) for a similar injudicious revelation made to Minerva. Erichthonius, the child born of the frustrated rape which Vulcan made on Minerva, had been inclosed by the goddess in an osier case (*cista*) and committed to the safe-keeping of the three daughters of Cecrops, with strict injunctions not to open the case. Aglauros, one of the sisters, had the boldness to unfasten it, and the infant Erichthonius was found inside with a serpent stretched by him.

This act had been watched by the crow, who revealed it to the goddess, and instead of the expected reward, was punished by perpetual banishment from attending on Minerva, a function thenceforward assigned to the owl.

The story of Erichthonius' generation, his inclosure in the *κίστη*, and the opening of the case by the daughters of Cecrops, while Athena was absent at Pellene in Achaia, in order to bring from thence a rock which as Lycabettus[1] was to be one of the bulwarks (*ἔρυμα*) of Athens, occupies Col. II, which after the first three imperfect verses is complete to the 14th and last, most of which is lost.

Of Col. III, which seems to have followed immediately, the first five verses are lost except 'Α*θήνης* at the end of the last. In the next three verses a crow, who seems to be the speaker all through Cols. II, III, tells how

6 *μοῦναι δὲ παρα πτυ.....κορῶναι*
7 *τεόν (?) ποτε πότνια θυμόν*

in which we may suppose was recorded the witnessing by the crows of the unfastening of the *κίστη* and the anger of Athena when they revealed to her the deed. Possibly *περιπτυχθέντα* sc. *ὄφιν* or *δράκοντα* the serpent folded round the infant Erichthonius may be the word left imperfect, though the facsimile gives *παρα* clearly enough, and in v. 7 *ποτε* may not improbably be a mistake for *τόγε*.

I offer the following as a tentative re-constitution of the passage, including vv. 8, 9.

μοῦναι δὲ περιπτυχθέντα κορῶναι
[παιδὶ δράκοντ' ὄσσοντο,] τεὸν τόγε πότνια θυμὸν
[ἤκαχε, τοιάδε] πολλὰ παραίσια μή ποτ' ἐλαφροὶ
[δείκ]σομεν οἰωνοί. τότε δ' ὤφελον.

'solae autem cornices circumplicatum serpente puerum uiderunt, quae res, animo tuo, domina, dolori fuit, talia multa inauspicata ne quando leuis gens uolucrum prodamus.' For [*δείκ*]*σομεν* many other words might be suggested, e.g. *οἴσομεν*.

[1] Näke, *Hecale* p. 199, shews that Lycabettus was also called Glaucopium or Glaucopeum.

In the two following vv. which Gomperz gives thus

10 .....ἡμετέρην μὲν.....
11 ἡμετέρην ἑ καλεῖν.....

the only point of tolerable clearness which emerges is that in ἑ καλεῖν, the poet probably alluded to the etymology[1] of the name Ἑκάλη. Näke, pp. 18 and 103 and Schneider *Callimachea* II. p. 172 have collected the passages where this is stated. Of these I will quote the most detailed. Etym. M. 319. 43 Ἑκάλη ἡ ἡρωίς, εἰς ἣν καὶ ποίημα ἔγραψε Καλλίμαχος· ἡ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν πάντα καλοῦσα. ταύτην Ἑκαλίνην ἔλεγον οἱ παλαιοὶ ὑποκοριζόμενοι. ἔθυον δὲ αὐτῇ διὰ τὸ ξενίσαι Θησέα. That the verse ended with Ἀθήνη or some case of it is also a plausible inference from the words preserved in the following verse of the column (12)

βαρὺς χόλος αἰὲν Ἀθήνης

for it is a recurring trick of Callimachus to repeat the same word, and especially some proper name, in two consecutive lines: μακάρεσσι—μακάρεσσι H. Apoll. 25, 6; Φοῖβον—Φοῖβον 30, 1; θεμείλια Φοῖβος ὑφαίνει—θεμείλια Φοῖβος ἔπηξε 37, 8; H. Dian. 33, 4 τρὶς δέκα τοι πτολίεθρα—τρὶς δέκα τοι πτολίεθρα. There remain two vv.

13 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τυτθὸς παρε...ονος ὀγδοάτη γὰρ
14 ἤδη μοι γενεὴ πέλ.

ἐγὼ seems to be the same κορώνη that has been speaking in Col. II; who was at the time when the chest was opened still little. It is a suggestion of Reinach's (*Revue des Études Grecques* for 1893, pp. 258 sqq.) that this κορώνη was introduced by Callimachus talking with Hecale, and surprised by sleep whilst doing so, as stated Col. IV. 9 τὴν μὲν ἄρ' ὥς φαμένην ὕπνος λάβε, τὴν δ' ἀΐουσαν: and though this seems odd, I do not see a better explanation.

Gomperz supplements the missing letters thus παρέ[ην γ]όνος, and in 14 πέλεται; Weil puts a stop after παρέην and reads χρόνος ὀγδοάτη γὰρ. This last appears to me harsh and

[1] Or, if this is irreconcilable with the passage, the words may perhaps be the remnant of Ἑκάλιννα, a hypocoristic or endearing name by which the old dame might be addressed. (Näke, p. 103.)

improbable: but I am not at all sure that γόνος is right, and would suggest μόνος, *ego autem sola nondum adulta aderam* (the one young crow amongst a number of old ones) *nam nunc quidem octauum saeculum ago uitae.* I that now speak with you as a bird that has nearly reached the ninth and last generation to which my life extends (Ἐννέα γὰρ ζώει γενεὰς λακέρυζα κορώνη, Hesiod. ap. Schol. Arist. Av. 609) was then quite small.

I am bound to say that, unless the letters of the original tablet are clearer than the facsimiles, some doubt seems to me to attach to the decipherment of the letters after τυτθ and of πελ. But the sense is not greatly affected by this.

Col. IV is preserved entire, and forms the finest and poetically the most interesting section of the new discovery. vv. 13, 14 were already known, 13 from Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 1297 and Suidas (fr. 42 in Schneider), 14 from Schol. Ap. Rhod. III. 1150: Schneider fr. 278.

vv. 1—8 are the warning addressed by the crow to the raven. 'No good came of the crow's revelation to Athena: and a time shall come when the raven shall find his tale-telling brings him not gain, but dishonour. For that white plumage which now vies with swan's down, milk, sea-foam shall be turned by Phoebus to the colour of black pitch, in revenge for the unwelcome news that Coronis has been false to her divine lover, and succumbed to the embraces of Ischys, a horse-taming mortal.'

[Δεί]ελος, ἀλλ' ἢ νὺξ ἢ ἔνδιος ἢ ἔσετ' ἠὼς
εὖτε κόραξ, ὃ[ς] νῦν γε καὶ ἂν κύκνοισιν ἐρίζοι
καὶ γάλακι χροιὴν καὶ κύματος ἄκρῳ ἀώτῳ
κυάνεον φὴ πίσσαν ἐπὶ πτερὸν οὐλοὸν ἕξει,
ἀγγελίης ἐπίχε[ι]ρα τὰ οἵ ποτε Φοῖβος ὀπάσσει,
ὁππότε κεν Φλέγυαο Κορωνίδος ἀμφὶ θυγατρὸς
Ἴσχυι πληξίππῳ σπομένης μιερόν τι πύθηται.

This passage must have been famous. It has been closely copied by Ovid Met. II. 534 sqq.

Quam tu nuper eras, cum candidus ante fuisses,
Corue loquax, subito nigrantes uersus in alas.

Nam fuit haec quondam niueis argentea pennis
Ales, ut aequaret totas sine labe columbas,
Nec seruaturis uigili Capitolia uoce
Cederet anseribus, nec amanti flumina cycno.
Lingua fuit damno; lingua faciente loquaci
Qui color albus erat, nunc est contrarius albo.

Then follows a perfectly new description of morning in which we may trace the very best manner of Callimachus.

τὴν μὲν ἄρ' ὡς φαμένην ὕπνος λάβε, τὴν δ' ἀΐουσαν.
καδδραθέτην δ' οὐ πολλὸν ἐπὶ χρόν[ον]· αἶψα γὰρ ἦλθεν
στιβήεις ἄγχουρος· ἴτ' οὐκέτι χεῖρες ἔπαγροι
φιλητέων· ἤδη γὰρ ἑωθινὰ λύχνα φαείνει·
[ἀ]είδει καί πού τις ἀνὴρ ὑδατηγὸς ἱμαῖον.
ἔγρει καί τιν' ἔχοντα παρὰ πλόον οἰκίον ἄξων
τετριγὼς ὑπ' ἄμαξαν, ἀνιάζουσι δὲ πυκνοὶ
[δμ]ῶοι χαλκῆες κωφώμενοι ἔν[δον] ἀκουήν.

The two interlocutors, Hecale and the crow, if Reinach's view is right, are overtaken by sleep and soon after awaked by the approach of dawn. A neighbour comes in covered with rime: 'wake up: thieves have skulked away to their coverts: the lights of morning are shining: the man at the well sings the bucket-drawing song, the axle's creak rouses the dweller by the road-side[1], the smiths at the forges make a deafening din.'

Among the Roman imitators of the Hecale Statius is probably, after Ovid, the most indebted. I suspect Theb. XII. 471, 2 and 477 are a reminiscence of the poem.

[1] The interpretation of *παρὰ πλόον* is from the schol. Ap. Rhod. III. 1150 *περιπλομένας· παριούσας ἐπεὶ καὶ πλόος λέγεται ἡ ὁδός. Καλλίμαχος· Ἔγρει καί τιν' ἔχοντα περίπλοον.* Schneider illustrates this by Schol. Nicand. Theriac. 295 *μέσσου ὄγ' ἐκ νώτου βαιὸν πλόον αἰὲν ὀκέλλει*, where the Scholiast says *βαιὸν δὲ πλόον νῦν τὴν ὁδόν, τὴν πεζὴν πορείαν. οὕτω γὰρ καὶ Ἀντίμαχος εἶπε Τοῖσι δ' ἂν ὑλήεντα διὰ πλόον ἐρχομένοισιν.* But it is clear that in all these passages, the poets are speaking *metaphorically*, and it seems more than dubious whether *παρὰ πλόον = παρ' ὁδόν*. Rather it is a house by the side of the harbour or starting-place for a sea-voyage: such a house would naturally belong to a *ναύκληρος* ready to embark on the shortest notice, as wind or tide favoured.

471 Omnis et Actaeis effusa penatibus aetas
Tecta uiasque replent,

with which cf. Col. I. fin.

477 Ogygias leges,

with which cf. Col. II. 7.

Epigr. VI. Schneider 7—10

ἔστ' ἔπεσον παρὰ θῖνας Ἰουλίδας, ὄφρα γένωμαι
σοὶ τὸ περίσκεπτον παίγνιον, Ἀρσινόη,
μηδέ μοι ἐν θαλάμῃσιν ἔθ' ὡς πάρος, εἰμὶ γὰρ ἄπνους,
τίκτηται νοτερῆς ᾠέον ἀλκυόνης.

I believe the meaning of 9, 10 to be that the nautilus-shell, before it was thrown up on the shore of Iulis, had been the receptacle in which halcyons deposited their egg: halcyons loving to breed in a retreat *secured against winds* and *breezeless* (*ἄπνους*). For this sense of *ἄπνους* may be quoted Aristot. *Prob.* XIV. 8, where the arm-pit is called the most malodorous region of the body because *ἀπνούστατός* (*τόπος*) *ἐστι*.

Epigr. XXVI. (Anth. P. IX. 336)

Ἥρως Ἠετίωνος ἐπίσταθμος Ἀμφιπολίτεω
ἵδρυμαι μικρῷ μικρὸς ἐπὶ προθύρῳ
λοξὸν ὄφιν καὶ μοῦνον ἔχων ξίφος· ἀνδρὶ ιπείῳ
θυμωθεὶς πεζὸν κἀμὲ παρῳκίσατο.

Possibly *ἀνδρὶ δ' ἀφνειῷ*. Eetion, to shew his anger against some rich neighbour who had offended him, had set up a statue, in which all the details were plain and unambitious. The *πρόθυρον* in which it was placed was small, and the statue itself was of small size, with nothing to mark it out but a serpent, and with a bare sword, instead of a panoply. It was besides not mounted on horseback, but resting on the ground.

Epigr. XLII. 5.

The corrupt *ουκισυνιφησον* appears to me to contain *Εὐκσίθεον δίφησον*, as I suggested in this Journal, XI. p. 27 (1882), and as I now see was conjectured long ago by Valckenär[1] (Huschke *Analecta Litteraria*, p. 50).

[1] How imperfect the modern editions of Callimachus are is patent from the fact that neither Blomfield, Meineke, Schneider, or Kaibel mentions this emendation which I think as certain as any in Callimachus.

Epigr. XLVII. 7. In the same Journal, XI. p. 28, I suggested

ἐσθ' ἁμῖν καὶ ἄκεστρα, σάφ' ἴδεα, πρὸς τὸν Ἔρωτα,

'sunt nobis et medicamina, id quod bene intellexi, contra Amorem.' Hesych. ἄκεστρον· φάρμακον. Σοφοκλῆς Παλαμήδῃ. And for the corrupt

τουτιπαικειρευ τὰ πτερά, παιδάριον

in my review of Schneider's *Callimachea* (vol. I.) published in the *Academy* for 1871, p. 547, it was proposed to read

τοῦτ' ἴσα καὶ κείρει τὰ πτερά, παιδάριον,

'this is as good as clipping your wings, Love.'

fr. 45, Schneider II. p. 195,

Apollon. Rh. I. 1116 ἄστυ δὲ καὶ πεδίον Νηπήιον Ἀδρηστείης.

On this v. the Scholiast states πεδίον Νηπείας ἔστι περὶ Κύζικον. μνημονεύει δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ Καλλίμαχος ἐν Ἑκάλῃ. Νηπείης ἥ τ' ἄργος ἀοίδιμος Ἀδρήστεια.

Schneider, following a suggestion of Bernhardy's on Dionysius Perieg. p. 905, writes the line

Νηπείης, ἥ τ' ἄργος, ἀοίδιμος Ἀδρήστεια

since, according to Strabo VIII. p. 372 οἱ νεώτεροι καὶ μάλιστα Μακεδόνες καὶ Θετταλοὶ ἄργος τὸ πεδίον φασί.

If ἄργος 'plain' = ἀργὸς γῆ 'untilled land,' i.e. land not inclosed for cultivation, the verse of Callimachus may have been

Νηπείη, σή τ' ἄργος ἀοίδιμος, Ἀδρήστεια.

In any case it is the Ἀδραστείας πεδίον that would naturally be called 'famous,' *not* the goddess.

fr. 66[b] Schn.

I cannot but agree with Ruhnken and Toup, against Näke, p. 103 and Schneider II. p. 210, that the name meant in the v. quoted by Suidas as from Callimachus' Hecale

τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτὴν (some MSS. αὐτῶ. ? αὐτὸ)
κωμῆται κάλεον περιηγέες

was not Hecale, but *Hecaline* or *Hecalinna*. As Toup observed, this is the natural inference from Plutarch's words, Thes. XIV. ἔθυον γὰρ Ἑκαλήσιον οἱ πέριξ δῆμοι συνιόντες Ἑκάλῳ Διὶ καὶ

τὴν Ἑκάλην ἐτίμων Ἑκαλίνην ὑποκοριζόμενοι διὰ τὸ κἀκείνην νέον ὄντα κομιδῇ τὸν Θησέα ξενίζουσαν ἀσπάσασθαι πρεσβυτικῶς καὶ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι τοιούτοις ὑποκορισμοῖς. Indeed οἱ πέριξ δῆμοι seems to me, as to Toup, to point to Callimachus' very words κωμῆται περιηγέες.

Näke's objection to such a v. as Toup proposed

[Ἑκάλινναν·] τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτὴν
κωμῆται κάλεον περιηγέες

is gratuitous, since the name might easily have occurred in a *different* part of the verse, e.g. so as to form the end of the 2nd, beginning of 3rd foot. I have before suggested that Col. III. 11 of the newly-discovered fragments began Ἡμετέρην, Ἑκάλινα; the speaker might well use the hypocoristic or coaxing name in talking familiarly with the old crone.

fr. 178 Schn.

Etym. M. p. 555. 18 Λάκτιν· σημαίνει ἡ λέξις σκυτάλην, τορύνην. Καλλίμαχος· αὖθις ἀπαιτίζουσαν ἔκνον εὐεργέα λάκτιν.

Bentley conj. ἀπαιτίζουσα νέην. Perhaps rather νέηκ' from νέαξ, a word found elsewhere in Callimachus, fr. 78 Schn.

fr. 234 Schn.

Possibly for ἄνδρ' ἐλαιοὶ should be written ἄνδρ' ἀλαὼ two blind men, when they were *drawing* (ἀμπρεύοντες) from Deceleia.

fr. 272 Schn.

Schol. Soph. O. C. 3 ὅτι τὸ τίς ἀντὶ ἄρθρου χρῶνται, Καλλίμαχός φησιν οὕτως· ὑπεὶρ ἅλα κεῖνος ἐνάσθη Ἀλκάθοόν τις ἄπτυστος.

After attentively reading the whole of the scholion, I conclude that the writer of it in his copy of Callimachus read these vv. thus,

ὑπεὶρ ἅλα κεῖνος ἐνάσθη
Ἀλκαθόου τίς ἄπυστος,

explaining τίς as nearly = ὃς: but that Callimachus himself meant it as a question. 'That hero (Tydeus) was banished beyond the sea: for who has not heard of Alcathous (whom Tydeus slew and was exiled for slaying)? Diod. Sic. IV. 65. 2

φασὶ Τυδέα τὸν Οἰνέως ἐν Καλυδῶνι τοὺς ἀνεψιοὺς ἀνελόντα, Ἀλκάθουν καὶ Λυκωπέα, φυγεῖν ἐκ τῆς Αἰτωλίας εἰς Ἄργος.

The least attentive reader of Callimachus will admit that such a sudden question in explanation of a statement made just before is peculiarly in his manner. On the other hand, the use of τίς = ὅς is also, as is well known, Callimachean. Epigr. xxx. 1, 2 οὐδὲ κελεύθῳ χαίρω τίς πολλοὺς ὧδε καὶ ὧδε φέρει, where see the notes of Bentley and Meineke.

fr. 307 Schn.

The verse quoted by Porphyrion on Hor. S. II. 3. 296 p. 279 Hauthal must be I think

ἑπτὰ σοφοὶ χαίροιτε· τὸν ὀγδόατον δὲ Κοροῖβον
οὐ συναριθμέομεν.

This follows (1) from Callimachus' similar verse, whether it was τὸν ὄγδοον ὥστε Κοροῖβον or τὸν ὀγδόατόν τε Κοροῖβον, (2) from the various corruptions of the Greek words here in the MSS. of Porphyrion, as recorded in Hauthal's app. crit., especially τονο ικα ταθον οni κοργβον which may have represented τὸν ὀκτόατόν τε Κοροῖβον.

fr. anonym. 37 Schn. (II. p. 712).

The passage of Suidas κοκκύαι. αἱ πρόγονοι. ἀφ' ὑμέων κοκκύῃσι καθημένη ἀρχαίῃσι should, I think, be corrected very nearly as Näke suggested p. 130 ὑμείων κοκύῃσι καθειμένη ἀρχαίῃσι, except that, for ὑμείων, ἢ ἀφ' ὑμέων seems more probable.

fr. anon. 48 Schn.

γέντο δ' ἐρείκης
σκηπάνιον [ ] ὃ δὴ πέλε γήραος ὀκχή.

The missing word, for which Schneider conj. χείρεσσι, may not improbably have been δηναιόν, a word found in H. Jov. 60 and, if the tablet is rightly deciphered, in Col. II. 3 of the newly discovered Hecale fragments.

fr. anon. 63 Schn.

The verse quoted by Suidas s.v. ὑποδράξ, without mentioning from whom,

ἡ δὲ πελιδνωθεῖσα καὶ ὄμμασι λοξὸν ὑποδρὰξ
ὀσσομένη,

may, as Hecker conjectured, well have been from the Hecale. It is clear from Col. III. 12, and from Ov. Met. II. 568 *Quamuis irata est, non hoc irata negabit* that Athena was highly incensed at the revelation made by the crow. Such a *livid rage* may have been mentioned in the crow's speech, though it would be hazardous to conjecture at what point. Ruhnken cites for a similar use Nicander Theriac. 457 *σπειρηθεὶς καὶ λόξον ὑποδρὰξ ὄμμασι λεύσσων*, of a serpent twined round the body of an eagle. Another half line (302 Schn.) quoted by Suidas as from Callimachus, might similarly not inaptly refer to one of the ill-omened messages mentioned in the new Hecale fragments, either that of the crow to Athena or of the raven to Apollo. The words are *ἀπ' οὔατος ἄγγελος ἔλθοι* and are explained by Suidas *δύσφημος, μὴ ἄξιος ἀκουσθῆναι*. Both Näke and Hecker thought they belonged to the Hecale: but without the fuller insight which we now possess of the scope and contents of the poem.

fr. anon. 75 Schn.

If, as I think very likely, the *ἀραιτασιείδης* of Etym. M. 134. 24 is rightly explained by Schneider *Ἄραιθε σιειδής*, referring to the Epirotic river Araithus on which marsh-plants (*σία*) grew, it would form an unexpected support of Madvig's emendation *lentifero Eueno* in Ov. Her. IX. 141

> Semifer occubuit in letifero Eueno
> Nessus et infecit sanguis equinus aquas.

There the Puteaneus (*P*) according to Sedlmayer gives *letifero* as the first hand, *lerni ferro* as the second, and very similarly *G*. This points to an out-of-the-way word such as *lentifero*; I would suggest, however, that *Ἄραιτα* more naturally points to a vocative in *-α*, possibly *Ἄραχθα* or *Ἄρατθα*, from a nominative in *-ης*.

fr. anon. 107 Schn.

If the words *πόλῳ ἀστροχίτωνι* in Etym. M. 806. 2 came from the *Βερενίκης Πλόκαμος*, the only v. of Catullus which they could fairly suit, is 59 *Hi dii uen ibi uario ne solum in numine caeli*. But I greatly doubt Schneider's view that they had a place in that poem.

fr. anon. 127 Schn.

The additions to the Etym. M. published by Miller in his *Mélanges de Littérature Grecque* (1868) contain p. 28 this pentameter,

Θέντες ἀμίστυλλον ταῦρον ἐπ' ἰσχ.....

Dübner conj. *ἐσχαρόφιν*, which Schneider accepts. It must I think be *ἰσχιόφιν*. Callim. H. Apoll. 78—9.

θῆκε τελεσφορίην ἐπετήσιον ᾗ ἐνὶ πολλοὶ
ὑστάτιον πίπτουσιν ἐπ' ἰσχίον, ὦ ἄνα, ταῦροι.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE GREEK ANTHOLOGY.

In MS. Bodl. Lat. class. d. 5, of cent. xv, on the reverse side of a page originally left without writing between the *Amores* and *Sappho Phaoni* are two Greek epigrams.

1. Epigramma ad aeneam Alexandri statuam inspicientem caelum quantulumque: solo incumbentem ex Phidia.

Loquenti autem uidebatur simulachrum ad prospectandum
ΑΥΣΣΟΝΤΙ·ΔΕΙΚΕΝ·ΟΧΑΛΚΕΟΣ·ΕΙΣ·ΔΙΑΒΛΕΠΤΩΝ·

terrā subme me cōmitte Iuppiter tu autem olympum habes
ΓΑΝ·ΥΠΕΜΟΥ·ΤΙΘΗΜΕ·ΖΕΥ·ΣΥ·Δ'ΟΛΥΜΠΙΩΝ·ΕΧΕ·

This is in Cougny III. 53, and is preserved in Plutarch de Alexandri siue uirtute siue fortuna c. IX. p. 406 Didot, and again (in c. II. of the second oratio)

Αὐδασοῦντι δ' ἔοικεν ὁ χάλκεος εἰς Δία λεύσσων
Γᾶν ὑπ' ἐμοὶ τίθεμαι, Ζεῦ σὺ δ' Ὄλυμπον ἔχε.

The reading in the Bodl. MS. points to Αὐδάσσοντι: whence βλέπτων comes it is difficult to say: it seems to be an unauthorized form, found in Etym. M. 562 as the supposed original of βλέσσω = βλέπω but not occurring in actual literature. In the second oratio of Plutarch, where the statue is described, βλέπειν is twice used: perhaps this was the source of βλέπτων.

The v.l. ἐμοῦ for ἐμοὶ is also noticeable.

2. Ἐπίγραμμα εἰς Πέργαμον Ἀσίας περὶ Σαπφοῦς.

nomen mihi sappho tantū autem prestantior sum cantilenis
ΟΥΝΟΜΑΜΕΥ·ΣΑΠΦΩ·ΤΟΣΣΟΝ·Δ' ΥΠΕΡΕΣΧΟΝ·ΑΟΙΔΩΝ

mulieribus viris quantum meonides
ΘΗΛΕΙΩΝ·ΑΝΔΡΩΝ·ΟΣΣΟΝ·ΟΜΑΙΟΝΙΔΑΣ.

This is in Anth. P. VII. 15. Doni (*Inscriptiones*, p. 336) has printed it with *Pergami Asiae* prefixed, and says he had copied it from the MS. of Johannes Jucundus of Verona[1]. With this statement the heading in the Bodl. codex agrees. It seems indeed to have been the original form in which it was preserved.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

[1] The famous architect and epigraphist of cent. XVI. It was he who discovered a complete MS. of Pliny's Letters. '*Nos integrum ferme Plinium habemus: primum apud Parisios repertum opera Iucundi sacerdotis, hominis antiquarii Architectique famigerati.*' Budaeus, quoted on p. xxiv. of Keil and Mommsen's edition of Pliny's letters. Jucundus was one of the ablest scholars connected with the court of Leo X. See Mr E. G. Hardy's article 'A Bodleian MS. of Pliny's Letters,' *Journal of Philology*, XVII. pp. 95—108.

THE NEW SOTADEI DISCOVERED BY SAYCE AND MAHAFFY.

THE VIIth volume of the *Revue des Études Grecques* (1894) contains pp. 284—304 a most interesting paper by Prof. Sayce, in which he publishes some poems and inscriptions either newly discovered by himself and his friend Prof. Mahaffy or re-examined and embodying the results of this the latest examination.

The first of these is a poem of 34 lines, of which 23 are *sotadei*, the rest hexameters, with one pentameter after the last sotadeus, and a 2nd after the 2nd hexameter. In the sotadei, which are written with considerable precision, the inscription as given by Sayce, pp. 284, 5, presents some points in which the reading seems open to question.

vv. 15—18 are thus given as from the inscription,

ωομην ηνδε cεμνην μογcων καλλιεπειαν
νιλεψαιc αμα παcαιc με cην νωμον αειδειν
ελλαδοc τι καταβραχυ λειψανον νομιzων
γραπτον απο cοφηc επνευcα ψυχηc μου νημα.

In the corrected version the two editors omit the second *ην* of 15, alter in 16 *νιλεψαις* to *νύμφαις*, *με σην νωμον* to *ἐμὲ σύνγνωμον*, in 17 correct *κατα* to *κἄπο*.

The correction *νύμφαις* is hardly probable. Surely *νιλεψαις* is a mere error for *νίψας*. The poet mentions ablution in 13 *ῥείθροις ἐδόκουν γὰρ ποταμοῦ σῶμ' ἀπο[λού]ειν*. If *νίψας* is right *ἅμα πάσαις* will be *Μούσαις*. *συνγιώμον'* ought, I think,

to be written: at least Dindorf's Stephanus gives no example of *συγγνωμος*. I should write the whole v. thus,

Νίψας ἅμα πάσαισί με συνγνώμον' ἀείδειν.

In 17 I would suggest

Ἑλλάδος τε κἄν τι βραχὺ λείψανον νομίζων,

in which *κἄν τι βραχὺ* λ. = *quamuis breuem particulam.*

The second inscription is in hexameters. vv. 8, 9 are given thus:

ἵλαό μοι Μανδοῦλι Διὸς τεκ[ος ἠδ]' ἐπίνευσον
Ἡρώδην παλιν οσον σον ες πατ[ριδ ικε]σθαι.

This must be, not *παλίνοστον σῶν* but *παλίνορσον* (*ὅσον* or *ἐήν*?). At any rate *σῶν* seems impossible from so careful a writer, just as *μειμουμένοις* in the 12th verse is rightly corrected by the editors into *μιμουμένῳ*.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

HORACE, *ODES*, IV. 8. 15—20.

Non incisa notis marmora publicis,
Per quae spiritus et vita redit bonis
Post mortem ducibus, non celeres fugae
Reiectaeque retrorsum Hannibalis minae,
Non incendia Karthaginis impiae
Eius, qui domita nomen ab Africa
Lucratus rediit, clarius indicant
Laudes, quam Calabrae Pierides; neque
Si chartae sileant quod bene feceris
Mercedem tuleris.

Dr Verrall in *The Journal of Philology*, XVII. pp. 143 seqq., has proposed to omit the six lines 15—20 of this ode as an interpolation for the following reasons: (1) that the lines contain an undue number of metrical licences; (2) that the phraseology is unworthy of Horace; (3) that by this omission the ode will be made to conform to Meineke's Canon. I shall deal with these objections in detail and then submit what seems to me to be at least a plausible explanation of the vulgate.

(1) Dr Verrall has made an elaborate calculation in order to prove that Horace allowed himself a smaller number of metrical licences in the IVth Book of the Odes than in Books I.—III.

Assuming the correctness of the calculation, I deny that it has any real bearing on the question at issue, for it is based on an altogether erroneous principle. Dr Verrall has added

together *all* the lines in *all* the odes of the IVth Book *irrespective of metre*, and has compared these lines with an equal number of lines from Books I.—III. *irrespective of metre*. Now out of the whole number of Odes, 103, contained in the four books there are only six Odes in which all the verses are composed in the same metre, and do not naturally form couplets or four-lined stanzas. These monostich Odes are I. 1, III. 30, and IV. 8 in the short Asclepiad metre, and I. 11, I. 18, and IV. 10 in the long Asclepiad. It is obviously unfair to judge Odes which are merely experiments by the rules which Horace observed in metres which he used ten times more frequently. Furthermore, excessive regularity of rhythm where all the lines are in the same metre has a monotonous effect: we should expect therefore in such an Ode as IV. 8 a greater number of metrical licences than in an Alcaic Ode in the same book.

Now what are the licences to which Dr Verrall appeals as proof of his contention?

The first is the elision in line 16 *reiectaeque* retrorsum *Hannibalis minae*. But we find the same elision three times in the Ode III. 30, an ode of less than half the length of IV. 8. In IV. 13, an ode in similar metre and only containing 8 lines, we find the same elision.

The second metrical licence is the absence of the usual caesura in the line *non incendia Karthaginis impiae*. I suggest that this line does not differ essentially from I. 1. 2 *O et praesidium et dulce decus meum;* III. 30. 4 *possit diruere aut innumerabilis;* IV. 8. 14 *per quae spiritus et vita redit bonis;* id. 26 *virtus et favor et lingua potentium*. In all these places the conjunction goes closely with the following word. Moreover, Horace in Ode IV. 14. 17 *spectandus in certamine Martio* similarly violates the rule of the caesura in Alcaics, while in the Sapphic Odes of Book IV. and in the Carmen Saeculare he varies the caesura much more than in his earlier poems.

The third licence is the hiatus, or rather disregard of synaphea, in *impiae* | *eius*. But the same is found in I. 1. 12 *sarculo* | *agros*, and similarly I. 11. 7 *invida* | *aetas*, I. 18. 11 *Bassareu* | *invitum*, id. 14 *sui* | *et*, id. 15 *verticem* | *arcani*, IV. 10. 2 *superbiae* | *et*. In fact, so far from there being any

synaphea in these Asclepiad verses, not even are hypermetric syllables elided as sometimes is the case in Sapphics.

The fourth licence seems to be the use of *rediit* instead of *redît*. But Horace uses *subiit* elsewhere, and surely the instances given by Neue Formen Sprach. Lat. II. pp. 508 seqq. are sufficient to show that the form is Augustan.

The fifth and last metrical licence is *neque* at the end of line 20. But *neque* is found in exactly the same position in Ode I. 18. 3, and similarly *mare* twice, *vertice*, and *invida*.

Dr Verrall's contention on the ground of metrical licences is therefore untenable. Let us now examine the phraseology of the lines.

(2) Dr Verrall has objected to *bonis post mortem ducibus* as necessarily meaning "good men who are leaders after death" or "leaders who are good after death." How does he translate Ode IV. 1. 3 *bonae | sub regno Cinarae*, IV. 1. 19 *Albanos prope te lacus*, IV. 15. 3 *parva per aequor vela?*

The plural *fugae* is condemned. Mr Page says it is purely rhetorical. I venture to suggest that the plural is much more accurate than the singular would have been. Hannibal had to beat a hasty retreat more than once. I am surprised that fault has not been found with the ending *-ae* in three successive lines: the same occurs Ode IV. 10. 2—4, and we find *-um* similarly ending IV. 8. 3—5.

The plural *incendia* aptly describes the successive conflagrations consuming Carthage, suburb by suburb, street by street, for the space of at least a week.

Eius is objected to because *is* is so rarely found in Augustan poets. If this were admitted to be a valid reason, and the principle applied to all the passages in Horace or any other poet where unusual words occur, the result would be extensive mutilation of some of the noblest portions of ancient and modern literature. As I shall show hereafter, the unemphatic *eius* is here more appropriate than *illius*[1].

The poetical quality of *lucrari* is questioned. Horace however uses this word in a literal sense A. P. 238, and cf. Odes I. 9. 14 *appone lucro*, and Cic. Verr. I. 33 *lucretur indicia veteris*

[1] *Is qui* is far from rare in Catullus, and is found in Propertius.

infamiae. Is it not as poetic as *gravatus* Odes IV. 11. 27? What of *uirgor, graecor, palpor, ructor?*

As for *Calabrae Pierides,* it cannot, I think, be said that this expression smacks of the Gradus ad Parnassum more than *Ceae Camenae,* Odes IV. 9. 7. Though Vergil Ecl. 4. 1 does not use the words *Sicelides Pierides,* but *Sicelides Musae,* yet in Ecl. 6. 13 he applies Pierides to the same inspirers of song, a fact apparently overlooked by Dr Verrall.

The repeated negatives are too much after the manner of Horace to need illustration. Cf. e.g. IV. 9, and 15.

(3) It remains to consider whether a part of this Ode must be omitted to make it divisible into four-lined stanzas.

Now, in the first place, we have no indication of any such quaternary division either in the pauses of the Odes themselves or in the grammatical or metrical writers. In the second place, these Asclepiad verses, in a uniform metre, approach the usage of recitative poetry, to which they have a further correspondence in that the verses are independent periods, consisting of two or three sentences each. This has been pointed out by Schmidt in his *Rhythmik und Metrik.* It is not surprising therefore that we should find one of these Asclepiad Odes failing to conform with a recently discovered rule of essentially lyric systems. In the third place, we have a lyric poem, Epode 13, which cannot be divided into stanzas, but forsooth, because it is read among the Epodes it can offend with impunity against this inexorable rule. Epode 12 is in the same metre as Odes I. 7 and 28, but it cannot be divided into stanzas.

But now for a moment let us assume that Dr Verrall is right in holding that lines 15—20 are spurious, and let us examine the emended text which he has asked us to accept.

> *Non incisa notis marmora publicis,*
> *Per quae spiritus et vita redit bonis:*
> *Si chartae sileant quod bene feceris,*
> *Mercedem tuleris?*

This he translates: "Not what the people can grave upon *marble* is the means whereby the good return to breathing life. If *paper* tell nothing &c." A simple antithesis truly! But

how is this meaning to be obtained from the Latin words and the mood of *redit?* If *non incisa...publicis* and *per quae...redit* are related as cause and effect, the subjunctive is necessary (Roby §§ 1678 seqq., Madv. §§ 362 seqq.); the indicative must be a simple definition of existing things. Cf. Ode III. 30. 1 seqq. *exegi monumentum aere perennius | quod non imber edax...possit diruere* with IV. 15. 12 seqq. *revocavit artes | per quas Latinum nomen et Italae | crevere vires.* Again, it is obviously impossible to separate *quae* from *marmora,* and make the words *per quae...redit* the subject of a sentence of which the predicate is *non incisa...publicis.* It is impossible therefore, in my opinion, to accept the alteration proposed by Dr Verrall.

The excisions suggested by other scholars have little to recommend them, nor has sufficient reason been shown for supposing the text corrupt.

It remains therefore to see whether the passage is capable of an interpretation free from the well-known historical difficulty. Why not take *eius* as a subjective genitive with *incendia,* "the burning of cruel Carthage by him who &c."? The unemphatic *eius* will then be eminently suitable. For the subjective gen. with *incendia* cf. Cic. Phil. II. 48 *eius omnium incendiorum fax;* id. Verr. I. 70 *sociorum incendium;* id. 5. 92 *praedonum incendio.* For double gen. cf. Cic. Div. in Caecil. 21 *eorum spem fortunarum.* For *laudes* "praiseworthy deeds" standing alone, cf. Verg. Aen. 9. 197 *laudum percussus amore;* id. Georg. 2. 138 *laudibus Italiae certent.* Cf. the use of *culpas* Ode IV. 15. 11 and III. 11. 29, of *mores* IV. 4. 36, *proelia destinat* III. 13. 5, and *convivia cantamus* I. 6. 17. Horace himself uses *laudes Caesaris* Ode I. 6. 11, and uses *indicat* with similar meaning Ode I. 5. 14. With the expression *indicant laudes* cf. Cic. Legg. I. 27 *vultus indicat mores.*

In these lines Horace meant to allude to the three Punic Wars. By *marmora incisa* he means the Columna Rostrata, or some similar monument of the first great war, which he had otherwise described in II. 12. 1 seqq.

Nolis longa ferae bella Numantiae
Nec durum Hannibalem nec Siculum mare

Poeno purpureum sanguine mollibus
Aptari citharae modis,

a passage closely parallel, but the wars in inverse order, and one exploit of the younger Scipio substituted for another.

At the same time the plurals *marmora, fugae, incendia, Pierides* would doubtless convey to a Roman reader an idea of generality as if they were generic plurals, so that the fact that Ennius was dead 20 years before the capture of Carthage would not cause any difficulty.

I translate the whole passage thus: "Not by marbles graven &c., not by the repeated rout of a Hannibal &c., not by the burning of cruel Carthage by one that returned from a conquered Africa, his only gain a name, are glorious deeds more manifestly set forth than by the poems of an Ennius; nor would you &c."

J. STANLEY.

ANTIGONE, ll. 891—927.

ὦ τύμβος, ὦ νυμφεῖον, ὦ κατασκαφὴς
οἴκησις ἀείφρουρος, οἱ πορεύομαι
πρὸς τοὺς ἐμαυτῆς, ὧν ἀριθμὸν ἐν νεκροῖς
πλεῖστον δέδεκται Φερσέφασσ' ὀλωλότων·
ὧν λοισθία 'γὼ καὶ κάκιστα δὴ μακρῷ
κάτειμι, πρίν μοι μοῖραν ἐξήκειν βίου.
ἐλθοῦσα μέντοι κάρτ' ἐν ἐλπίσιν τρέφω
φίλη μὲν ἥξειν πατρί, προσφιλὴς δὲ σοί,
μῆτερ, φίλη δὲ σοί, κασίγνητον κάρα·
ἐπεὶ θανόντας αὐτόχειρ ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ
ἔλουσα κἀκόσμησα κἀπιτυμβίους
χοὰς ἔδωκα· νῦν δέ, Πολύνεικες, τὸ σὸν
δέμας περιστέλλουσα τοιάδ' ἄρνυμαι.
[καίτοι σ' ἐγὼ 'τίμησα, τοῖς φρονοῦσιν, εὖ.
οὐ γάρ ποτ' οὔτ' ἂν εἰ τέκνων μήτηρ ἔφυν,
οὔτ' εἰ πόσις μοι κατθανὼν ἐτήκετο,
βίᾳ πολιτῶν τόνδ' ἂν ᾑρόμην πόνον.
τίνος νόμου δὴ ταῦτα πρὸς χάριν λέγω;
πόσις μὲν ἄν μοι κατθανόντος ἄλλος ἦν,
καὶ παῖς ἀπ' ἄλλου φωτός, εἰ τοῦδ' ἤμπλακον·
μητρὸς δ' ἐν Ἄιδου καὶ πατρὸς κεκευθότοιν
οὐκ ἔστ' ἀδελφὸς ὅστις ἂν βλάστοι ποτέ.
τοιῶδε μέντοι σ' ἐκπροτιμήσασ' ἐγὼ
νόμῳ, Κρέοντι ταῦτ' ἔδοξ' ἁμαρτάνειν
καὶ δεινὰ τολμᾶν, ὦ κασίγνητον κάρα.
καὶ νῦν ἄγει με διὰ χερῶν οὕτω λαβὼν
ἄλεκτρον, ἀνυμέναιον, οὔτε του γάμου
μέρος λαχοῦσαν οὔτε παιδείου τροφῆς,

ἀλλ' ὧδ' ἔρημος πρὸς φίλων ἡ δύσμορος
ζῶσ' εἰς θανόντων ἔρχομαι κατασκαφάς·]
ποίαν παρεξελθοῦσα δαιμόνων δίκην;
τί χρή με τὴν δύστηνον ἐς θεοὺς ἔτι
βλέπειν; τίν' αὐδᾶν ξυμμάχων; ἐπεί γε δὴ
τὴν δυσσέβειαν εὐσεβοῦσ' ἐκτησάμην.
ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν οὖν τάδ' ἐστὶν ἐν θεοῖς καλά,
παθόντες ἂν ξυγγνοῖμεν ἡμαρτηκότες·
εἰ δ' οἵδ' ἁμαρτάνουσι, μὴ πλείω κακὰ
πάθοιεν ἢ καὶ δρῶσιν ἐκδίκως ἐμέ.

Goethe's well-known criticism (quoted by Prof. Jebb in his Appendix to the Antigone) is perhaps the best introduction to any discussion of this famous passage—"'In the course of the piece,' he says, 'the heroine has given the most admirable reasons for her conduct, and has shown the noble courage of a stainless soul: but now at the end she puts forward a motive which is quite unworthy of her, and which almost borders on the comic.' And then Goethe expresses the hope that scholars will prove the passage to be spurious."—I hope to contribute something towards this conclusion.

Antigone makes her position clear from the very first in talking with Ismene—

ἴσθ' ὁποία σοι δοκεῖ· κεῖνον δ' ἐγὼ
θάψω· καλόν μοι τοῦτο ποιούσῃ θανεῖν.
φίλη μετ' αὐτοῦ κείσομαι, φίλου μέτα,
ὅσια πανουργήσασ'· ἐπεὶ πλείων χρόνος
ὃν δεῖ μ' ἀρέσκειν τοῖς κάτω τῶν ἐνθάδε.
ll. 71—75.

This view she re-states and defends before Creon. She has disobeyed his edict in obedience to a higher law: she never thought that his decrees could over-ride the statutes of heaven.

Briefly then the position which she maintains throughout is this. She has acted in obedience to the known will of God: and she is sure of her brother's love for her reward. But in her last speech she retracts all this: and puts forward a kind of apology based on ludicrously inadequate grounds for her action

in place of the high motive to which she has hitherto consistently adhered. No wonder that Aristotle with this passage before his eyes ignores the possibility of a guiltless heroine, and refuses to admit a perfect character to the place of protagonist. For the passage as we have it is quoted by Aristotle in the Politics, which proves two things: (1) that the interpolation must have been made soon after the death of Sophocles; (2) that the most infallible of critics, if he be destitute of imagination, will sometimes make mistakes.

The absurdity of the new position which Antigone takes up in her last speech is very striking, and is emphasised by the importance which all last words cannot fail to have. She would not have acted thus, she says, for a child or a husband: nay she would not have done so much even for a brother had her father and her mother been alive: for then she could have hoped for the birth of another brother to take his place.

'I confess,' writes Prof. Jebb, 'that, after long thought, I cannot bring myself to believe that Sophocles wrote 905—912: with which 904 and 913—920 are in organic unity, and must now stand or fall.' To this view there are two objections: firstly, we are asked to sacrifice eight very beautiful lines which are in every way worthy of Sophocles, and secondly, no reason is suggested for the insertion of the interpolation, if such it be. Some editors would bracket only the lines 904—912 and leave the rest in the text. The obvious objection to this is that it reduces the whole passage to nonsense, if *τοιάδ' ἄρνυμαι* means, as all editors take for granted that it does, 'I win the recompense of death.'

Antigone has said

> *νῦν δέ, Πολύνεικες, τὸ σὸν*
> *δέμας περιστέλλουσα τοιάδ' ἄρνυμαι.*

She cannot then go on to say

> *τοιῷδε μέντοι σ' ἐκπροτιμήσασ' ἐγὼ*
> *νόμῳ, Κρέοντι ταῦτ' ἔδοξ' ἁμαρτάνειν.*

μέντοι implies a contrast, whereas if 913 follows 903 none exists.

Let us for a moment take the lines that precede the disputed passage by themselves—'I have a good hope,' says Antigone, 'that I shall come dear to my father, and dear to thee mother, and dear to thee brother mine: for when you died I washed and arrayed you with my own hand and gave libations to your tomb.'—So far she has said nothing about Polyneices: if we were to judge by the context we should expect her to say "and now, Polyneices, for tending thy corpse I am sure of the same recompense." If she had said this, she would have been true to herself, her last words would have recalled the sure and certain hope which she expressed at the beginning of the play,

φίλη μετ' αὐτοῦ κείσομαι, φίλου μέτα,

and this I believe is what she does actually say. ἄρνυμαι can bear a good or bad meaning, and the sense of τοιάδε is of course determined by the context. The whole context (φίλη προσφιλής and φίλη in the two preceding lines) pleads strongly for love as the reward: Antigone's whole character pleads for it more strongly still. Love, at least, whatever she might lose, Antigone was sure to win: and what else could be more precious to one whose life is summed up in her own most gracious words:

οὔτοι συνέχθειν ἀλλὰ συμφιλεῖν ἔφυν?

τοιάδ' ἄρνυμαι, 'such recompense is mine': and with such recompense Antigone is well content. Then follows

τοιῷδε μέντοι σ' ἐκπροτιμήσασ' ἐγὼ
νόμῳ.

Here again the meaning of τοιῷδε is determined by the context and is now no longer doubtful. The law which she has obeyed is the law which bids honour the dead; in obedience to this she has done honour to her brother, and has been guilty in Creon's eyes of unpardonable sin. And her motive now is the same as it has been throughout.

But does this explanation account for the interpolation of 904—913? I believe that it does. τοιάδ' ἄρνυμαι is without

doubt liable to be misinterpreted; it has been misunderstood for more than 2000 years. But it cannot have occurred to Sophocles himself that there was any ambiguity in the words: and the reason is obvious. He has made Antigone claim love as the sole recompense for love lavished on mother, father and brother: if there is to be any difference in the case of Polyneices it can only be this; as she has done more for him than the others, his love for her will be even greater than theirs.

For Sophocles *τοιάδ' ἄρνυμαι* could bear but one meaning: 'I win a like recompense,' and that recompense must be love. And it follows from this that the actor who played Antigone in 441, instructed as he must have been by Sophocles himself, could hardly fail to make the words plain to those who heard them for the first time. But there would be a long interval before the play could be given again: possibly the Athenians would not see the Antigone a second time before the death of the poet. Sophocles it is said died in the act of reading the Antigone aloud: it has been suggested by Prof. Jebb that he may then have been employed in revising the play, and that Iophon the frigid poet may have been left to complete the task. Now Iophon may never have seen the play acted, and may never have heard this passage read by Sophocles: it is therefore possible and indeed probable that he misunderstood the words (as all editors since his time have done), and that he took them to mean, 'I win such recompense as this,' i.e. death by Creon's edict. And then he came to *τοιῷδε μέντοι σ' ἐκπροτιμήσασ' ἐγὼ νόμῳ*, and he saw that this could not follow *τοιάδ' ἄρνυμαι*. What was he to do? He was really in a very difficult position. His father, he may have said to himself, would doubtless have re-written the passage. He may have felt some scruples as editor which would keep him from doing this: but he could not leave the speech as it was: it did not in his view make sense: and to leave it so would be to dishonour the memory of Sophocles. The only alternative was to insert something: how many lines would be necessary he could not tell as yet. But his first obvious duty was to provide a contrast for *Κρέοντι μέντοι ταῦτ' ἔδοξ' ἁμαρτάνειν*: if 'Creon *however* held me guilty,' Iophon is bound to provide certain persons

who approved the deed: it might also be advisable to explain *νόμῳ* in 914 by saying something about a *νόμος* in the passage to be interpolated. And so, probably not without some twinges of conscience (to which perhaps the laboured line bears witness), Iophon wrote 904, contrasting Creon with *τοῖς φρονοῦσιν*. After the first plunge had been taken it really may have seemed almost an act of filial piety to insert a few more explanatory lines (written of course quite in the spirit of his father) in his father's play. But what precisely was he to say? Years ago, when Herodotus read the 3rd book of his history to his friend Sophocles, Iophon may have been in the room and child-like have been fascinated by the story of the wife of Intaphernes, who, when allowed by Darius to rescue any one of her relatives from death, chose to save her brother in preference to husband or child. For she says *ἀνὴρ μέν μοι ἂν ἄλλος γένοιτο εἰ δαίμων ἐθέλοι καὶ τέκνα ἄλλα εἰ ταῦτα ἀποβάλοιμι· πατρὸς δὲ καὶ μητρὸς οὐκ ἔτι μευ ζωόντων ἀδελφεὸς ἂν ἄλλος οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ γένοιτο.* These words Iophon appropriates and adds the line

τίνος νόμου δὴ ταῦτα πρὸς χάριν λέγω;

to explain *νόμῳ* (914).

It remains to consider the composition of the inserted lines. These are summarily disposed of in Prof. Jebb's notes. It is however worth while to notice that, while something may be urged against almost every line from 904—912, no fault has ever been found with the remaining lines 912—920. It is useless to attempt to reproduce the objections to vv. 904—12, which are stated with such admirable cogency by Prof. Jebb. I need only call attention to a few comparatively trifling blemishes. In 904 it is difficult to separate *εὖ* from *τοῖς φρονοῦσιν*, but if the line is to make sense it must be done. 906 may be an echo of 1008: *βίᾳ πολιτῶν* in 907 is defended by Prof. Jebb, though, when Ismene used the phrase, the truth of it was vehemently denied by Antigone. It is true that the Chorus have shown little sympathy, but surely Antigone would not be likely to come round to Ismene's view, and express it in Ismene's words.

These however are mere trifles: every important mark of spuriousness has been noted by Prof. Jebb, and few will question his conclusion that 'the composition of 909—912 is unworthy of Sophocles.' If this then is the work of Iophon, and it is difficult to see how any one except the first editor of Sophocles' plays could have secured its acceptance as part of the text, the words of Dionysus at the beginning of the Frogs are invested with a strange significance—

δεόμαι ποιητοῦ δεξιοῦ.
οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐκέτ' εἰσίν, οἱ δ' ὄντες κακοί.
ΗΡ. τί δ' οὐκ Ἰοφῶν ζῇ;
ΔΙ. τοῦτο γάρ τοι καὶ μόνον
ἔτ' ἐστι λοιπὸν ἀγαθόν, εἰ καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρα.

And again,

ΗΡ. εἶτ' οὐ Σοφοκλέα, πρότερον ὄντ' Εὐριπίδου,
μέλλεις ἀνάγειν, εἴπερ γ' ἐκεῖθεν δεῖ σ' ἄγειν;
ΔΙ. οὐ πρίν γ' ἂν Ἰοφῶντ' ἀπολαβὼν αὐτὸν μόνον
ἄνευ Σοφοκλέους ὅ τι ποιεῖ κωδωνίσω.

If this interpolation is really the work of Iophon, it is at least doubtful whether it was an advantage to the world in general that he survived his father, and there can be no doubt at all that when left to himself apart from Sophocles, he acted in such a way as to justify the very reasonable alarm which Dionysus expressed.

HUGH MACNAGHTEN.

NEW REMARKS ON THE *IBIS* OF OVID.

SINCE the publication of my edition in 1881, I have accumulated a considerable number of extra notes and illustrations on the *Ibis*. As the sale of the book is necessarily very slow, it seems worth while to collect the more important of these for the use of any future student of the poem. My intermediate paper of 1885, where some new explanations are broached, notably on 465, 6, *Victima uel Phoebo sacras macteris ad aras, Quam tulit a saeuo Theudotus hoste necem*, will be found in Journ. of Philol. XIV. p. 93. In the present year Mr A. E. Housman, who contributed to this journal a highly ingenious interpretation of 539, 540, *Conditor ut tardae laesus cognomine Myrrhae Orbis in innumeris inueniare locis* (vol. XII. p. 167), has edited the poem anew in Dr Postgate's C. P. L. fasc. 2. Maag of Berne in his *de Ibidis Ouidianae Codicibus*, 1885, re-opens the question of the MSS. and adduces some new scholia, in my judgment, of slight importance.

As far as I know, one, and only one, passage has been definitively settled since 1881. It is 517, 518, *Quodque ferunt Brotean fecisse cupidine mortis, Des tua succensae membra cremanda pyrae.* Early in the 16th century Janus Parrhasius (†1522) explained this distich by a passage which he ascribes to a writer of historical collections (is qui collectanea fecit historiarum) without saying where he found it. It is on p. 19 of the edition of Parrhasius' book *de rebus per epistolam quaesitis*, published by H. Stephanus in 1567. Βροτέας κυνηγὸς ὢν τὴν Ἄρτεμιν οὐκ ἐτίμα. ἔλεγε δὲ ὡς οὐδ' ὑπὸ πυρός τι πάθοι· ἐμμανὴς οὖν γενόμενος ἔβαλεν εἰς πῦρ ἑαυτόν. These words occur, exactly as Parrhasius quoted them, in an Epitome of Apollodorus' Bibliotheca in the library of the Vatican (no. 950,

of xivth cent.), published last year by Richard Wagner in the new Teubner edition of Apollodorus (p. 183). The explanation of Leopardus is therefore wrong.

48. *Nondum calfacti militis hasta solum.*

The v. l. *uelitis* is not impossible. The *ē* is supported by a passage of Varro's Satirae Ἀλλ' *οὐ μένει σε* I (4) Bücheler, *Quem secuntur cum rutundis uelites leues parmis.* For *calfacti* cf. de Orat. II. 78. 316 *cum brachium concalefecerat.*

58. *Non soleam quamuis* is a legal formula. Roby, Justinian, p. 162.

67 sqq. With this invocation compare the similar invocation in Firmicus' Mathesis v. Praef.

75. *Noxque tenebrarum specie metuenda tuarum.*

Näke on Dirae, p. 84, 'Vim uoluit, nisi fallor, singularem inesse in pronomine, quasi dicat tibi propriarum, uel quae totae tuae sunt.'

83, 84. *antiquo chao.* H. Dian. in papyr. Paris. 2533, cited by Dietrich Papyrus magica musei Lugdunensis Batavi, p. 775 *Κλαγγῆς σῆς ἀίοντα τὰ κοσμικὰ πάντα δονεῖται Νερτέριαί τε πύλαι καὶ λήθης ἱερὸν ὕδωρ, Καὶ χάος ἀρχαῖον, καὶ τάρταρα, χάσμα φαεινόν.*

95. *quem mens intellegit.* This was a rule in magic incantations. See Heim, Incantamenta Magica, pp. 471, 475 of supplemental vol. to Fleckeisen's Iahrb. for 1893, part II.

112. *Nec tibi det tellus, nec tibi pontus iter.*

Inscription ap. Muratori III. 1298, *εἴ τις ἀποκοσμήσει τοῦτο τὸ ἡρῶον ἢ ἀναστομώσει ἤ τι καὶ ἕτερον μετακινήσει ἢ αὐτὸς ἢ δι' ἄλλου, μὴ γῆ βατὴ μὴ θαλάσση πλωτὴ ἀλλὰ ἐκριζωθήσεται.*

125, 6. Lucian Lucius 25, *θάνατον δὲ αὐτῇ τὸν ἀλγεινότατον καὶ μακρότατον ἐξεύρωμεν καὶ ὅστις αὐτὴν χρόνῳ καὶ βασάνῳ φυλάξας ὕστερον ἀπολεῖ.* Ἀθην. Πολιτ. 18, p. 71 Sandys, of Aristogiton, *τέλος ὡς οὐκ ἐδύνατο πάντα ποιῶν ἀποθανεῖν.*

189, 190.

In te transcribet ueterum tormenta uirorum;
Manibus antiquis causa quietis eris.

Rutil. Namat. II. 57, 8 *Omnia Tartarei cessent tormenta Neronis. Consummat Stygias tristior umbra faces.*

203, 4 are introduced by Albertus Stadensis as *vv.* 147, 8 of the vith book of his Troilus: the only variation is *haec* for *tua* of Ovid.

219, 220.

Haec est in fastis cui dat grauis Allia nomen,
Quaeque dies Ibin, publica damna, tulit.

Housman punctuates

Quaeque dies Ibin, publica damna tulit.

This is certainly simpler, and is very likely to be right. It is, however, certain that Näke, Dir. p. 116, thought *p. damna* was in apposition to *Ibin:* and his opinion must always have great weight. The combination *publica damna* is found in Epiced. Drusi 200 *Consulis erepti publica damna refert.* Rutil. Nam. I. 24 *Priuatam repetunt publica damna fidem.*

232. *uerba canina.* Firm. Mathes. iv. Praef. init. *caninae contentionis iurgiosa certamina.*

255, 6.

Nec leuius doleas, quam qui bibit ubera ceruae,
Armatique tulit uulnus, inermis opem.

Creighton, Hist. of Papacy, v. p. 307. 'In this extremity of personal sorrow, Clement made an appeal to the humanity of the man whom he had so greatly injured, Cardinal Colonna, saying that only the spear of Achilles could avail to heal the wound which it had made.'

Seren. Sammon. XLV. 7 *sanat quae sauciat ipsa Vt Larisaea curatur Telephus hasta.*

Lucian Nigrin. fin. τὸ τοῦ Τηλέφου ἀναγκὴ ποιεῖν is explained ἐπὶ τὸν τρώσαντα ἐλθόντας ἰᾶσθαι παρακαλεῖν.

263. The story of this *lis iocosa* is told by Luitprand Antap. III. 41 in transliterated Greek.

288. *Sint artus auidis anguibus esca tui.*

A punishment which would naturally recur to the mind of a Roman at this time. Seneca tells us slaves were sometimes thrown into vivaria of serpents (de Clem. I. 20), and it was perhaps in this way that Lucan obtained his minute knowledge of the various effects produced by the bites of African serpents (B. IX.).

291, 2.

Utque parum mitis, sed non impune, Prometheus
Aerias uolucres sanguine fixus alas.

Possibly there is an allusion to the Platonic apologue (Sympos. 203 B), where Poros (Wealth or Means) is the son of Metis (Discretion or Invention). The words *parum mitis* would then represent *poru metis*, 'the craftsman of resource,' 'inventive genius of supply,' and this etymology of *Prometheus* would not only suit his character as the arch inventor (μῆτις) and supplier of man's needs (πόρος), but would be quite in keeping with the etymologies of the *Cratylus*, or again of Varro in the *De Lingua Latina*.

298. *Quam qui cornigero de Ioue natus erat.*

An Arabic name of Alexander the Great, Zú-'l-karnain, 'the two-horned,' alludes probably to the horns of Iupiter Ammon. Yule on Marco Polo, I, p. 169.

303, 4.

Nec tua, quam Pyrrhi, felicius ossa quiescant;
Sparsa per Ambracias quae iacuere uias.

There was a Pyrrheum at Ambracia (Polyb. XXII. 10, Liv. XXXVIII. 5), seemingly distinct from the palace of Pyrrhus, which had also been there: Liv. XXXVIII. 9 *signa aenea marmoreaque et tabulae pictae, quibus ornatior Ambracia, quia regia ibi Pyrrhi fuerat, quam ceterae regionis eius urbes erant.*

This however is Pyrrhus the great king who was so long the terror of Rome: Ovid's Pyrrhus is Neoptolemus. I infer that the *name* was specially connected with *Ambracia*.

311. *Inque pyram tecum carissima corpora mittas.*

A peculiarly *African* custom. Sall. Jug. 76 *Ei* (the inhabitants of Thala) *postquam murum arietibus feriri resque suas adflictas vident, aurum argentumque et alia quae prima ducuntur, domum regiam conportant: ibi uino et epulis onerati, illaque et domum et semet igni conrumpunt.* Iuba I raised a vast funeral-pile in the market-place of Zama with the intention of burning himself *cum liberis coniugibus ciuibus cunctaque gaza regis* (Bell. African. 91).

If Ovid's enemy (Ibis) was the younger[1] Juba (a possible view, though not supported in my Prolegomena) there would be a significance in mentioning this mode of death, which was not only specially African, but had actually been contemplated by Juba's father.

319. *insutus pelle iuuenci.* Lucian describes a similar inclosing of a body in an ass. Lucius 25 *τὴν δὲ ἀγαθὴν ταύτην παρθένον τῷ ὄνῳ ἐγκατοικίσωμεν, τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν ἔξω τοῦ ὄνου πρόχειρον, ὡς ἂν μὴ εὐθὺς ἀποπνιγείη, τὸ δε ἄλλο σῶμα πᾶν ἔνδον κρυπτόμενον, ὡς ἂν αὐτὴν κατακειμένην εὖ μάλα συῤῥάψαντες ῥίψωμεν ἔξω ἄμφω ταῦτα τοῖς γυψί, καινῶς τοῦτο ἐσκευασμένον ἄριστον. σκοπεῖτε δέ, ὦ φίλοι, τῆς βασάνου τὸ δεινόν, πρῶτον μὲν τὸ νεκρῷ ὄνῳ συνοικεῖν, εἶτα τὸ θέρους ὥρᾳ θερμοτάτῳ ἡλίῳ ἐν κτήνει καθέψεσθαι, καὶ λιμῷ ἀεὶ κτείνοντι ἀποθνήσκειν, καὶ μηδὲ ἑαυτὴν ἀποπνῖξαι ἔχειν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλ' ὅσα πείσεται σηπομένου τοῦ ὄνου τῇ τε ὀδμῇ καὶ τοῖς σκώληξι πεφυρμένη ἐῶ λέγειν.* The same in Apul. Met. VI. 31.

325, 6.

Utque Milo sub quo cruciata est Roma tyranno,
Uiuus in occultas praecipiteris aquas.

This is the reading of G^2, which Nettleship, *Essays*, p. 351, and Hilberg, in his *Gesetze der Wortstellung im Pentameter des Ovid*, agree to think the most trustworthy MS. of the *Ibis*. All the other MSS. give (not *Roma*, but) *pisa, ipsa*, or some corruption of these. We might, perhaps, assume an early vitiation of 325, in which not only *Roma* had become *ipsa* or *Pisa*, but *Miloniaco* was changed to *milo sub quo*. 'As Rome was tortured by Milo's so-called *tyrant*, Clodius, so may you be thrown into the public sewers.'

Cic. Mil. § 35. *Quo tandem animo hoc tyrannum illum* (Clodius) *tulisse creditis?* § 43. *Quam hoc non credibile est in hoc, quam idem in Clodio non dubitandum, qui se ipse* (so A. C. Clark after Stangl) *interfecto Milone regnaturum putaret.*

[1] An ibis in conflict with a winged serpent is figured on the coins of this learned prince. Thompson's *Glossary of Greek Birds*, p. 62.

[2] The Galeanus, in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Similarly Cicero, Att. VI. 4, calls Milo the Crotoniat tyrannicide (*τοῦ Κροτωνιάτου τυραννοκτόνου*).

Sest. XXXV. 77, speaking of an attack which the partisans of Clodius made on the supporters of his return from exile in 57 B.C., Cicero says *meministis tum, iudices, corporibus (tum) ciuium Tiberim compleri, cloacas refarciri, e foro spongiis effingi sanguinem.*

Miloniacus would be an adj. like *Colophoniacus*, Cir. 65.

The origin of the corruption might be miloniạco, milon aquo, milo(n) sub quo.

351, 2. The arguments of Nigra, *Ghioma di Berenice*, pp. 88 sqq., are all but convincing against my view that the Locrian woman is Arsinoe. I say 'all but,' because it is not impossible that the poet may be confusing the personality of two different Arsinoes, both of them wives of Ptolemy Philadelphus, Arsinoe d. of Lysimachus, who certainly formed a plot against her husband (Schol. Theocr. XVII. 128), and Arsinoe his sister-wife. See Letronne *Recueil des Inscriptions*, I. p. 5, and the valuable article *Arsinoe* in De Vit's Onomasticon[1] to Forcellini.

357, 8 Merkel writes thus in his last edition

> Byblidos et Canaces, si cui facis, ardeat igne,
> Nec nisi per crimen sit tibi fida soror.

i.e. si cui facis ignem, ardeat eo, quo Canace. MSS give *sicut*.

379, 380. On Siris see Hermes for 1894 p. 607.

397, 8. Both *G* and *T* give *post annum*. This might be explained of the recurrence at the end of each year of the human sacrifice which Phrasius was the first to inaugurate. Apollod. II. 5. 11 *ἐὰν ξένον ἄνδρα τῷ Διὶ σφάξωσι κατ' ἔτος*. Servius on G. III. 5 *Busiris omnibus annis hospitis Ioui immolabat*. When the first year came to an end (*post annum*) Phrasius was the victim selected to be sacrificed. *Post annum* is thus constructed not with *mostrator* but *Elicuit*. The com-

[1] This admirable work has been suspended since De Vit's death, after reaching to the end of O. I cannot but hope that Italian enterprise will interfere to prevent a work, which is one of the most enduring monuments of philological learning, remaining incomplete.

bination is not uncommon in reference to events which naturally recur after the lapse of a year, e.g. harvest, Manil. IV. 204 *Per noua maturi post annum munera Bacchi*, or the birth of a child, Apollin. Sidon. Carm. XX. 3, 4 *Sit tecum coniunx, duo nunc properate, sed illud Post annum optamus tertius ut uenias.*

409, 410. Plut. Alex. 43, speaking of the way Bessus was killed *διεσφενδόνησεν ὀρθίων δένδρων εἰς ταὐτὸ καμφθέντων ἑκατέρῳ μέρος προσαρτήσας τοῦ σώματος, εἶτα μεθεὶς ἑκάτερον, ὡς ὥρμητο ῥύμῃ φερόμενον, τὸ προσῆκον αὐτῷ μέρος νείμασθαι.*

418. The suggestion of Neubauer that *maior* conceals an oriental word, becomes more probable from the frequency with which exotic formulae occur in *curses*, as shown at length by Conway on the Dvenos Inscription Amer. J. of Philology XI. pp. 456, 7.

428. *Tydeus temporis huius.* See Näke on Dirae, p. 87.

449, 450. A similar cutting up of the limbs by knives is mentioned of Dionysus Zagreus. G. Schulze, Euphorionea p. 37, quotes Nonn. VI. 204 *ἀμοιβαίῃ δὲ φονῆες Ταυροφυῆ Διόννσον ἐμιστύλλοντο μαχαίρῃ.* Mr Frazer, Golden Bough, I. 173 sqq., collects instances from every country of the superstitious avoidance of iron for sacrificial purposes: and the uncertain distich in the Ibis may well be an allusion to something of the kind.

452. E. Hoffmann Rhein. Mus. for 1885, pp. 150 sqq., explains *exiguo libello* of the poem Ciris, which relates the punishment of Scylla for cutting off her father Nisus' purple lock, and the metamorphosis of both into birds. In the words *Corpora proiecta quae sua purgat aqua* Hoffmann finds an allusion to Cir. 514—516

> Quae simul ut sese cano de gurgite uelox
> Cum sonitu ad caelum stridentibus extulit alis
> *Et multum late dispersit in aequora rorem.*

This view seems to me highly improbable.

466. Micon Levita ed. Traube 394 *Theodotus Ouidius.*

470. *Dexione* is now confirmed by the discovery at Athens of a sanctuary, containing an inscription proving it to have been dedicated to Asklepios and Amynos; the same inscrip-

tion mentions also another associated hero, *Dexion*, who had a separate precinct. I had already called attention to the name Dexion, as the name under which the poet Sophocles was worshipped after death as a hero. See J. of Hellenic Studies for 1894, p. 203.

475. I have suggested a new explanation of this mysterious distich J. of Philol. XVII. pp. 134—139.

512. *Stella Leoprepidae cum fuit aequa uiro.*

Housman suggests *Iouis* for *uiro*, comparing Hor. c. II. 17, 22 *Te Iouis impio Tutela Saturno refulgens Eripuit uolucrisque fati Tardavit alas.* Merkel's *Sella Leoprepidae cum ruit absque uiro* is a curiosity.

515. The parallelism in Sil. XIII. 486 *suffixa cadauera truncis* is strangely like the MS reading *defixa cadauera trunco:* but it is difficult to get any satisfactory construction for this.

Astacidaeque modo defixa cadauera trunco,
Digna feris hominis sit caput esca tuum.

The only possibility which I can see would be to refer *sit* backwards to *cadauera* (*des fixa* of Laur. XXXVI. 34 seems a mere error of transcription). If on the other hand we write *defixa cadauere trunco*, there is no real resemblance to the line of Silius, as *trunco* will of course be adj. 'mutilated.' Housman follows Heinsius in reading *decisa cadauere trunco*; but *decisa* rests on the authority of two MSS which are not generally of much weight against G T or P. It seems possible that the distich is an interpolation, and that the meaning of its author was, 'like Menalippus, may your carcase be pinned to the ground with a spear shaft, your head be the food of a man, a fitter food for the wild beast.'

529, 530. Add perhaps Anth. P. vol. III. ed. Cougny, II. 232, though the meaning is not quite distinct.

539, 540. Housman explains of the poet C. Helvius Cinna, the author of a long-laboured poem on the story of Myrrha or Zmyrna, torn to pieces by the mob, who mistook him for the Cinna who was one of Caesar's murderers.

The chief objection to this is *Orbis*, which Housman would alter to *Urbis*. If *Orbis* is genuine, it is difficult to see how

the poet could be described as 'found in countless places of the *world*' because he was torn to pieces in the streets of *Rome*, and in spite of the constant confusion of *urbis*, *orbis* in the MSS of Manilius, I hesitate to admit this confusion in such excellent MSS as G and T of the *Ibis*. Can it be shown that the parallel cases of *in multis locis* Trist. III. 9. 28, Prop. III. 15. 40 and *mille locis* Met. III. 522, in all of which a body is mangled and scattered piece-meal, are ever found in combination with a *city* or *town*? In each of these the poet speaks of the wide open country.

545. *Vt puer Harpagides.* G. Schulze Euphorionea p. 35 pronounces against Harpagides, preferring Harpalyces. To me the absence of the l in the various spellings of the MSS seems significant against this view: and I rejoice to see that Merkel in his last edition agrees with me.

549, 550.

Vtque Syracosio praestricta fauce poetae,
Sic animae laqueo sit uia clausa tuae.

Paton and Hicks' Inscriptions of Cos p. 359 'If the couplet refers to Theocritus at all (as the Scholiast says it does), and if it is borrowed from the *Ibis* of Callimachus, it can only be a jocular allusion to some outrage inflicted on Theocritus, but not by Hiero.'

The following suggestion is purely tentative. The reference may be to Philemon, a native, according to some accounts, of Syracuse, who died of suffocation produced by excessive laughter. On this view *praestricta fauce* would apply to both clauses, *laqueo* only to the second. 'May you die strangled by a halter as Philemon died strangled by excessive laughter': and the riddle would lie (1) in finding the *right* Syracusan poet, who is not, as everyone would guess, Theocritus, but Philemon, (2) in the ambiguity of *praestricta fauce sit uia clausa animae.* Hesych. Miles. 70 Φιλήμων ὁ Συρακούσιος ὑπὸ σφοδροῦ γέλωτος ἐτελεύτησεν. Val. Max. IX. 12. 6 *Senile guttur salebris spiritus praegrauauit.* Lucian Macrobii 25 ἀποπνιγεὶς ὑπὸ γέλωτος ἀπέθανε.

558. *Praefocent.* Macrob. S. S. I. 3 *abundantia praefocari.*

562. *felicius Haemone.* In my commentary I demur to *Haemon* as another form of the mountain Haemus. I have since noted it in Mela p. 37. 1 Parthey (II. 2. 2 Tzschuck) *montes interior (Thracia) adtollit Haemona et Rhodopem et Orbelon.* To the instances of comparatio compendiaria add Am. I. 6. 62 *Ora fuere tibi plus aue docta loqui.*

590. See Lobeck Aglaopham. 1010 as to Eupolis: and to the passages about Terence add Schol. Bern. Lucan. Phars. v. 652 malignos Ambrachiae portus. *malignos autem dixit quia est ibi Terentius mortuus.* Auson. Epistt. XVIII. 16 Schenkl *Arcadiae medio qui iacet in gremio.*

607. *sua Penthiladen proles.* See Gildersleeve Essays and Studies p. 376.

609. Schol. Dionys. Perieget. 369 *ἀποσφηνωθεὶς δένδρῳ τὰς χεῖρας σφιγκτῷ θανάτῳ τὸν βίον μετήλλαξε.*

621, 2.

Aethalon ut uita spoliauit Isindius hospes,
Quem memor a sacris nunc quoque pellit Ion.

This suggestion of mine, which Housman prints, is illustrated by the words of Xenophon Hiero IV. 5 *ἀντὶ τοῦ εἴργειν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν, ὥσπερ τοὺς τῶν ἰδιωτῶν φονέας.*

623. *tenebris a caede latentem.* Aetn. 375 Munro *clauditque uias luctamine ab imo* against the turmoil below. Fronto Laud. Fumi et Pulueris p. 214 Naber *Ioui Iunonique cubantibus nubem ab arbitris obstitisse* 'from the sight of witnesses.'

ROBINSON ELLIS.

THE 'GREAT LACUNA' IN THE EIGHTH BOOK OF SILIUS ITALICUS.

[Note—The passage in question, with the immediate context, is printed on pp 200—1. I have for convenience sake used the numbering of the Teubner text throughout this article.]

Silius Italicus is not a poet of the first order. But he has a place of some kind in Latin literature, and I am not here concerned to discuss what that place should be. It is enough that he cannot be omitted from collections of Latin poets, and that in literary histories he cannot be ignored. To recover the genuine text of the *Punica* is therefore a matter of some importance, and it is the duty of an inquirer to correct and supplement any statements of scholars that he believes to be wrong or incomplete, and to subject the inferences drawn from such statements to a further test. My present task is the consideration of a matter of detail—the so-called 'great lacuna' in the eighth book—which so far as I can learn has never received a careful treatment, though the questions involved have been touched by not a few editors in the course of four hundred years.

The existing MSS of Silius are all descended from the copy taken by one of Poggio's allies of the MS found, probably at St Gall, in 1416 or 1417. That the original MS itself was never taken to Italy, and that the first copy has not survived, are points proved by Blass[1] with the highest degree of cer-

[1] Hermann Blass, die Textesquellen des Silius Italicus. A reprint from the Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie 1875, pp 161—251. It is hardly possible to speak too highly of this admirable treatise. For the points referred to here see pp 162—73, 239—42.

tainty that the case admits. Errors multiplied as copy succeeded copy, and the early printed editions were taken from MS copies of various merit edited with various degrees of skill and care. Of these editions two appeared at Rome independently in 1471, two at Parma and Milan respectively in 1481. In 1483 there was published at Venice an edition with the copious commentary of Petrus Marsus [known as *Marsi scholia*]. With this work, of which there were several later editions, the history of the lacuna question begins. When the lacuna was first observed we do not know: Marsus first publicly called attention to it thus. With the lemma *explicat* [224] he notes '*hic plurima syllii carmina desiderantur illius incuria ut arbitror qui hoc opus escripsit apud constantiam urbem galliae ubi hoc poema iam amissum a Poggio.....repertum fuit.....desideratur hic deificatio annae apud latinos et oratio quam habuit apud annibalem Iunonis iussu: supersunt tantum* [*tm̃*] *ultima orationis uerba explicat etc.*' That is, while he like the other early editors prints the lines [143 and 224] without a break

> Aeneae coniunx ueneris nurus ulta maritum
> Explicat haud longe tellus huc dirige signa,

he shews a clear knowledge that there is something lost between them and indicates in general terms the subject matter of the missing passage.

After this, in the new editions or reprints[1] of Marsus (Venice 1492 and 1493, Paris 1512), and the Leipzig edition of 1504 and the Paris one of 1508, we find no further advance. But in the edition of Benessa (Lyons 1514) an open space, enough for 12 lines, is left after *maritum*, extending in fact to the foot of the page. No comment whatever is added, and the next page begins at the top with *explicat*. In the prefatory letter and in the epilogue the question is not touched, and the high character given to Benessa by those who have studied his edition seems to shew that the silence is intentional. He had no doubt read the note of Marsus: he may

[1] According to Jöcher, Marsus died in 1512.

have heard of the contribution of Constantius, to which I shall soon refer; but this latter he can hardly have seen.

Next comes the Juntine edition (Florence 1515) of Ambrosius Nicander. Of the doings of this forward impostor[1] I will at present only say that he richly deserves the severest censure of the critics from Modius to Blass. In our passage he proceeds thus: printing the two lines [143 and 224] together, he leaves a space of one line after *signa*, commenting *Hic multa desyderantur carmina carie forsan temporis absumpta, aut ex scribentis incuria praetermissa.* After this he leaves a space enough for 11 lines to the foot of the page, and the next page begins with [225] *dixit et*..... We have here no advance beyond Benessa, of whom he speaks with great contempt. We have a specimen of the interpolations with which he defiled the poem in the line [139 a] inserted after *in pōrtus amens rorantia lumina flexit* [139]. The insertion has no authority whatever. Not only the lines 144—223, but also the suspected line [224 a] just below, are still absent from the text.

The Basel edition of 1522 follows the Juntine in the text of this passage. In fact the edition is at least closely connected with[2] that of Nicander, whose wilful interpolations it faithfully reproduces. I may here remark that in this it is closely followed by the other Basel edition of 1543, which is the only post-Aldine edition where the lacuna still remains unfilled. These two Basel editions are so closely connected that for my present purpose they may be taken together. The line *explicat* [224] follows *maritum* [143] without a break, and then comes the note on the lacuna *Hic desyderatur Apotheosis Annae et oratio eiusdem quam habuit ad Annibalem Iunonis iussu, cuius orationis haec* (*Explicat haud longe &c*) *sunt ultima*..... A long account of the deification of Anna

[1] He was first exposed by Modius. The notes of Drakenborch on xv 396 foll, 773 foll, xiii 155, xi 439 foll, ii 25 foll, viii 139 a [140], are enough to shew the nature of his work. I have followed him up in more detail, for which there is no room here.

[2] It is not a mere reprint, as I have proved by testing it. Still less is it a reprint (as Schweiger declares) of the Leipzig edition of 1504.

is given, in which Ovid is followed and even quoted, though his name is not mentioned. This will be considered[1] below.

The Aldine edition (Venice 1523) opens a new era in the history of this question. It appeared '*in aedibus Aldi et Andreae Asulani soceri.*' The editor was Franciscus Asulanus, as the dedicatory letter prefixed clearly sets forth both here and in the later editions following or based on the Aldine, in which this letter is reprinted. It is a pity that bibliographers and critics[2] suppress the editor's name and refer to the publishers only. According to Adelung Franciscus was brother or son of Andreas, but in the details given concerning him his connexion with the edition of Silius is omitted. In this text we first find the lacuna filled up with the lines 144—223 and also the line *haec ut Roma cadat* [224 a]. We also find Nicander's line [139 a], and indeed his other interpolations elsewhere. It seems as if F Asulanus started with the Juntine edition as a basis and added to it from some other source or sources. With exception of the Basel edition of 1543, the lines 144—223 are in all subsequent editions. The line 224 a is in most of them; but was challenged by C Barth and N Heinsius, and first bracketed by Drakenborch.

Here I omit a great mass of matter relative to other editions, and proceed at once to inquire whence these lines, first put into the text of the Aldine edition, are derived. From the editor himself we get no help. In the dedicatory letter, after declaring the great pains he has taken to produce a correct text, he says *et in principio octaui libri quattuor et octuaginta uersus, qui in aliis omnibus desiderabantur, inseruimus.* And this is all.

So far as I can discover, it was Nicolas Heinsius who first pointed out that the lines in question were probably taken from a collection of critical papers by Iacobus Constantius of Fano, which was printed at Fano and published[3] in 1508. The first part of this volume, which he calls *collectaneorum*

[1] See pp 203, 210.

[2] All save Cellarius, so far as I have noticed.

[3] The first part was apparently prepared for press in 1507, but it is all printed as one, as an examination of the sheets shews. The date of the colophon (1508) is thus the right one.

hecatostys prima (the rest deals with the Ibis and Metamorphoses of Ovid), consists of 100 short pieces on subjects connected with Latin and Greek authors. It is a wonderful work for its age, and some of the papers are of very high merit. He seems to me a conspicuously plain and honest writer, and the little I can find out about him is to his credit. His 92nd paper begins as follows:

Carminum longus ordo Silianis codicibus restitutus.

Perpetui nunquam moritura uolumina sili cum aliis locis mutila et manca inuenies, tum libro octauo: ubi Didonis et Annae sortem poeta ipse describit. Ibi enim duos et octoginta uersus deficere Baptista Guarini filius Latinae et Graecae lingue decus ac splendor et praeceptor meus[1] *omni cum honore et obseruantia nominandus ostendit: quos e gallia sibi cum aliis quamplurimis rebus scitu dignis missos fuisse dicebat. Eos in publicum dare (uti sanctissimis eius manibus*[2] *caeteri mecum debeant) impraesentiarum constituo. Qui sunt huiusmodi.*

He then gives not 82 but 84 lines, made up thus:

Aeneae [143] to *signa* [224] = 82
Arma.....*hiarbas* [157 a] = 1
Haec.....*poenis* [224 a] = 1
84

But lines 143 and 224 are in our MSS and early editions, and are here probably as catchlines, though a single line [224 a] comes after, not before, the latter of them. Thus the total of new lines is 82.

Now to return a moment to the Aldine text. F Asulanus professes to have restored 84 lines. In point of fact they are 81, the same as the 82 of Constantius with *arma*.....*hiarbas* [157 a] omitted. The only other variant (omitting mere varieties of spelling) is that in 223 Constantius gives *ubi*, while the Aldine gives *qua*. It is a significant fact that in these two points all later texts follow the Aldine. Indeed it

[1] So in cap 64 he calls Guarini *praeceptoris mei omni laude maioris*. In his epigrams [1502] he has a complimentary one *ad Baptistam Guarinum praeceptorem*.

[2] This is from *manus*. According to Jöcher Guarini died in 1513.

appears that from 1523 to now no editor has referred back to Constantius. N Heinsius[1] alone notes that he gave *ubi*, not *qua*. And the omitted line [157 a] is not restored even by Heinsius. It is no doubt most unsatisfactory that we have this great scholar's notes only in the form in which they were made up[2] for printing by Drakenborch: but Drakenborch is hardly to be suspected of having omitted so important a note, had it ever existed.

If then the Aldine contribution [81 lines] is derived from Constantius, I am driven to suppose that the number of printed lines in the latter [84] led the Aldine editor to write *quattuor et octuaginta* in his preface by a slip.

It is however possible that the lines may have been printed from another copy. That Baptista[3] Guarini was closely connected with both Aldus and Constantius seems certain: and if the latter was given (or allowed to take) a copy of Guarini's treasure, why not Aldus or one of his allies? This supposition will give another means of accounting for variants, and cannot be overlooked: but to the present argument it is of little importance. That the lines added by F Asulanus in the Aldine text came from Guarini by one road or other is about as certain as we could wish: the next and more important question is, whence did Guarini get them, and what is their claim to our acceptance?

First we note that according to Constantius they came *e gallia*. We remember that Marsus speaks of the copying of the St Gall[4] MS as having taken place *apud constantiam urbem*

[1] He never produced an edition.

[2] This matter is excellently treated by Blass pp 207—8.

[3] The Biogr Universelle [1817] says of this Guarini 'Le Giraldi et Alde Manuce furent ses disciples'. He was a son of the better known Guarino Guarini of Verona, whom, says Jöcher, he succeeded as Professor at Ferrara. See Voigt's *Humanismus* for notices of both. The father [1370 to 1460] was a friend and correspondent of Poggio. In Poggio's works [Basel 1538] are several letters addressed to him, one from Constance. In L'Enfant's *Poggiana* [Amsterdam 1720] vol II pp 308—13 is a long one, edited from a MS at Wolfenbüttel, dated from Constance in Dec 1416, telling Guarini of some of his great MSS discoveries; but Silius is not named in this. It speaks of the neglected state of the MSS, and of his own hasty copying.

[4] I keep this name, but the actual place where it was discovered is not certain. There were other monas-

galliae. Add that at the end of the very paper (cap 92) in which he gives the lines Constantius speaks of Marsus as *Eruditissimus uir et facundissimus nobisque amicissimus* and refers to conversations with him on the subject of Silius. That his attention had first been called to the matter by Marsus' note is in the highest degree probable. We can hardly avoid the guess that when he says *e gallia* he means from Constance, in fact from the St Gall MS, the parent of all MSS then known. Is there anything to render this conjecture improbable?

It may be said that Constance is incorrectly placed in Gaul, and that the writers who refer to the discovery of the manuscripts of Silius and other authors at the time of the council of Constance commonly speak of the district[1] as in Germany. From the extracts in Blass (pp 162—72) this would seem to be the case, but the laxity of expression is excusable in the case of a place lying, where Constance does, in a sort of borderland. And the question is not what word is most correct, but what word Guarini and Constantius would naturally use. I think I have above sufficiently shewn that the latter at least would be likely to follow Marsus in saying 'Gaul'.

But is it conceivable that the lines should be omitted by the Poggian copyist, and afterwards be recovered on inquiry being made for them? It seems to me that it is. The MS was apparently[2] found in a state of great neglect, and a portion may very likely have been loose and so have got mislaid for the time, and yet have been recovered again when search was made. Or the inner sheet of a gathering, containing 4 pages, may have been turned over carelessly in haste; but the former supposition, if one reflects how the turning-over would work, is more probable. In any case we have 82 lines to account for. The MS is supposed to have been of the ninth century, and the number of 20 or 21 lines to a page was then by no means unknown. Thus the Vatican MS 3277 (saec IX) of Valerius Flaccus is described by Thilo[3] as having 66 pages of

teries near Constance. See Blass pp 164—8, Voigt (ed 1893) I 235—42.

[1] In the passage cited by Blass p 168 Poggio speaks of recovering ancient writers *e Germanorum Gallorumque ergastulis*.

[2] See Blass p 162, Voigt I 237.

[3] Prolegom ad Val F p 40. In the

21 lines each, 44 of 20 lines, and 168 of 19. It does not then appear to me that we have need of any very far-fetched hypothesis to justify us in accepting the account of Guarini as reported by Constantius, or in granting the probability that the missing lines were sought and found in the parent MS in 'Gaul'.

I have now reached the point where the serious difficulties of my subject begin. For Blass, taking it for granted[1] that the lines were missing in the *Sangallensis* [henceforth called S], strives to shew that they were missing in the *Coloniensis* [C] also, and makes this part of his argument shewing the close agreement of C and S. And on the close agreement between C and S the whole of his main argument depends. Now it will hardly be believed, though it is true, that in the whole of his long and admirable essay he never refers to the history of the lines supplied by Guarini and Constantius, and indeed never mentions Constantius at all. His only ground for inferring the lacuna in S is its existence in all existing MSS. But these are all descended from one copy of S, and to infer that, because 82 lines were missing in one copy (probably[2] taken hastily), therefore they were also missing in the original MS, is surely an unsafe proceeding. That C and S did agree closely, and that the main argument of Blass is sound, I fully believe, the rest of his evidence being sufficient for his purpose: but I cannot allow that any strength is added to his argument by his assumption of the lacuna in S.

It is now necessary to consider his argument in reference to C. This MS was discovered[3] and consulted in the Cathedral library at Köln by two scholars, L Carrion and F Modius, in the latter half of the 16th century. These are the only two witnesses who speak of it from actual inspection. The former treats a few passages in his '*Emendationum et Observationum libri duo*' [Antwerp 1576], the latter a large number in his '*Novantiquae lectiones*' [Frankfort 1584]. Their methods and

British Museum Catalogue of Ancient MSS [part II, Latin] I find several MSS assigned to saec IX which have 20 or 22 to the page.

[1] Blass p 188.

[2] See Blass p 240.

[3] Blass pp 161—2.

the value of their evidence are well examined[1] by Blass. Beside the above, Carrion was probably the collator who left a collection of variants of C written in the margin[2] of one of the little Gryphian editions. By about the middle of the 17th century C had disappeared. N Heinsius was therefore unable to use it, and his knowledge of its readings was derived from the works of Modius and Carrion and from the notes in the cramped margin of the Gryphian copy, which was lent to him, and which he regarded[3] as practically a complete collation. To take this first: we are reminded by Blass that no variants of C are recorded by Heinsius on these lines [VIII 144—223], and the inference is that they were not in C at all. We may answer that they certainly are in the Gryphian text [except 157 a], and, had they not been in C, surely Carrion would have noted the fact, and Heinsius have reported it. Heinsius says[4] nothing of the kind, and the little Gryphian is unfortunately lost. But there were no variants: how is this? We may point out that, if the lines really came from S as the result of a later search made for them and them only, then they would be copied at leisure and under far more favourable conditions than the rest of the poem. That in a passage of 82 lines no variant sufficient to attract the attention of a 16th century collator presented itself in the text of C as compared with a careful copy of S, is not enough to excite much wonder. There is thus no adequate reason for assuming that the lines were not in C on the ground of anything said or not said by Carrion.

I pass on to consider the evidence of Modius. It appears[5] that his notes of C were in the margin of one of the Basel editions, probably that of 1543, according to Blass. As I said above, this edition does not contain the lines VIII 144—223 [and 224 a]. And Modius does not restore the missing lines

[1] Blass pp 189—96.

[2] Blass pp 205—7. He thinks it was the first Gryphian [1547], of which I have a copy.

[3] See his words quoted by Blass p 201.

[4] It is to be observed that the line [224 a] which follows 224 *explicat* is reported by Heinsius to be absent from C. If 144—223 were also absent, is it credible that he should omit to say so?

[5] Blass p 205.

from C. Indeed he never refers to the lacuna question at all. Blass therefore (p 188), speaking of these lines, urges 'es ist undenkbar, dass Modius, wenn er sie fand, diese Gelegenheit verabsäumt haben sollte, das Fruchtbringende seiner Thätigkeit durch Vorführung derselben in ein recht glänzendes Licht zu setzen'. At first reading this seems conclusive: but it labours under the disadvantage of attempting to prove a negative by the argument *ex silentio*. Modius was certainly eager to win all possible credit by restoring lost lines with the help of C: but that he would go out of his way to do over again what he knew to have been already done by another, is a quite needless assumption. That he did not know of the insertion of the lines in the Aldine edition is perhaps in itself hardly likely: and moreover we know that he possessed the Aldine edition itself. The catalogue[1] of his library, now preserved at Munich, names three copies of Silius (1) *Silius*[2] *Italicus* 16° (2) *Silius Basileensis collatus cum* MS 8° (3) *Silius Aldinus* 8°. Whether he had the Aldine text by him while collating at Köln, is uncertain, but very likely not. That he had not it (or some other copy containing the lines) by him when he composed his *Novantiquae lectiones* can hardly be assumed. What note he may have made in the margin of his Basel text we do not know, the book being now lost. But he might perfectly well make a note[3] at the time and yet make no use of it when he composed his book. A note in that small margin could not have been long, and, even if he had made a separate copy of the lines, he would not feel bound to restore what had been already restored. I cannot therefore admit that the argument from the silence of Modius, who had so many discoveries[4] to announce that were all his

[1] Printed in Serapeum 1853.

[2] I think this must be one of the Gryphian editions [1547 or 1551], but in any case it contained the supplied lines, which are found in all editions of this size.

[3] In Novant 41 he speaks of the loss of a lot of his MS notes, in 55 of certain notes on Silius that he is not going to publish till he edits the text (which he never did), in 59 of working from his collation, and of employing copyists to send him notes from a distance.

[4] In Novant 133 he apologizes for having repeated a few things already observed by others. The reference is probably to Carrion.

own, is enough to establish the absence of the lines from C. In short, the text in Carrion's hands while collating contained the lines, that used by Modius did not. It is more strange that Carrion should not notice the absence of the lines in C, if absent, than that Modius should not notice their presence, if present.

It is however remarkable that neither of these scholars notices the absence of the line *arma.....hiarbas* [157 a] from the passage as restored in the Aldine text and its followers. If N Heinsius did use[1] Constantius, it is strange that he did not miss the line either. Whether we have in this anything more than an instance of the methods of an age less minutely accurate than we fondly deem our own, I am not sure. More will be said[2] on this subject below.

In general I submit that the evidence of Modius and Carrion affords no solid ground for concluding that the lines in question are spurious. With the positive tradition of their origin (delivered by Guarini and accepted by Constantius and the Aldine editor) remaining unexploded, external probability is greatly in favour of their genuineness.

This external probability is however not such as to be independent of the support of internal probability. If an examination of the lines should shew that they are deservedly suspected on their own merits, we must hesitate before attributing them to Silius. The lines themselves will bear witness for or against the trustworthiness of those on whose authority they stand in our texts. Before we go on to examine them I will cite the three utterances of important critics in which their title is questioned. First, N Heinsius [as cited in Drak] says '*An Silii sint multum ambigo*'. This seems to be a passing expression of opinion, the value of which will depend on any reasons that may be gathered[3] from his com-

[1] He refers to his readings in 171, 204, 223, in all cases correctly, so it can hardly be doubted. I may add that I have consulted three copies of Constantius, on the chance of a change during printing, but found no variation.

[2] pp 203, 210, and above, pp 192—3.

[3] His chief objections, if not all, are given in my notes below. They are not worthy of him.

ments in detail. Ruperti's note, after reciting what is known of the supposed origin of the lines, and the opinions of Heinsius against and Lefebvre for them, proceeds '*Omnino facile quidem intelligitur, iis extrusis orationis seriem non cohaerere. Sed quaeritur, num monachus, an ipse poeta lacunam h*[oc] *l*[oco] *ita expleverit. Prius fere suspicari possis, quum nonnulla in iis sint quae ineptum versificatorem sapiant, et imitatio Maronis Ovidiique nimis videatur servilis. Sed illud librariorum quoque et interpolatorum culpa contingere potuit, et hoc forte excusabis si reputaveris, quam misera sit poetae conditio, qui fabulam repetit notissimam, et ab aliis quoque summo iam ornatu tractatam'*. Here the respectable editor seems to have had no small difficulty in coming to a decision which is haltingly favourable to the lines. We may for the present remark that imitation of Vergil can hardly be too servile for Silius, and put off the question of Ovid to be treated below. The Teubner editor, L Bauer, merely declares '*cum Heinsio aliisque fictos eos censeo ad lacunam explendam'*. That he is depending simply on Blass' conclusion which I have challenged above, appears from his reference to the very passage in Blass. And I cannot find that he has since supported his view by independent reasons. I am therefore unable to come to any other conclusion than that his judgment stands or falls with the argument of Blass.

The context is as follows. VIII 1—24 Hannibal is much downcast, thwarted as he is, chiefly by Fabius. 25—43 Juno sends Anna to cheer him up and send him into Apulia to be ready for Cannae. 50 foll The story of Anna. Her flight from Carthage and arrival in Italy. Aeneas inquires the details of Dido's sad end. Anna gives them, and tells how Dido mounted the pyre, recalled her first meeting with Aeneas, and uttered her few last words. [Here the 'great lacuna' begins.]

I print the passage with the spelling and numbering of Bauer, but insert three lines that have to be discussed though not found in Bauer. Black bars in the margin mark the place where the existing MSS and the early editions, omitting all between, continue without a break.

in portus amens rorantia lumina flexit: 139
[atque haec sparsa comam diuis in morte profudit] 139 a
di longae noctis, quorum iam numina nobis 140
mors instans maiora facit, precor, inquit, adeste,
et placidi uictos ardore admittite manes.
Aeneae coniux, Veneris nurus, ulta maritum, 143

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uidi constructas nostrae Carthaginis arces. 144
nunc ad uos magni descendet corporis umbra.
me quoque fors dulci quondam uir notus amore
exspectat, curas cupiens aequare priores.
haec dicens, ensem media in praecordia adegit,
ensem Dardanii quaesitum in pignus amoris.
uiderunt comites, tristique per atria planctu 150
concurrunt: magnis resonant ululatibus aedes.
accepi infelix, dirisque exterrita fatis,
ora manu lacerans, lymphato regia cursu
tecta peto, celsosque gradus euadere nitor.
ter diro fueram conata incumbere ferro,
ter cecidi exanimae membris reuoluta sororis.
iamque ferebatur uicina per oppida rumor; 157
arma parant Nomadum proceres et saeuus Iarbas: 157 a
tum Cyrenaeam fatis agitantibus urbem
deuenio; hinc uestris pelagi uis appulit oris.
motus erat placidumque animum mentemque quietam 160
Troius in miseram rector susceperat Annam.
iamque omnis luctus omnisque e pectore curas
dispulerat, Phrygiis nec iam amplius aduena tectis
illa uidebatur. tacito nox atra sopore
cuncta per et terras et lati stagna profundi 165
condiderat, tristi cum Dido aegerrima uultu
has uisa in somnis germanae effundere uoces:
his, soror, in tectis longae indulgere quieti,
heu nimium secura, potes? nec, quae tibi fraudes
tendantur, quae circumstent discrimina, cernis? 170
ac nondum nostro infaustos generique soloque
Laomedonteae noscis telluris alumnos?
dum caelum rapida stellas uertigine uoluet,
lunaque fraterno lustrabit lumine terras,
pax nulla Aeneadas inter Tyriosque manebit. 175
surge age: iam tacitas suspecta Lauinia fraudes
molitur, dirumque nefas sub corde uolutat.
praeterea, ne falsa putes haec fingere somnum,
haud procul hinc paruo descendens fonte Numicus
labitur, et leni per ualles uoluitur amne. 180
huc rapies, germana, uiam tutosque receptus.
te sacra excipient hilares in flumina Nymphae,
aeternumque Italis numen celebrabere in oris.

sic fata in tenuem Phoenissa euanuit auram.
Anna nouis somno excutitur perterrita uisis,
itque timor totos gelido sudore per artus.
tunc, ut erat tenui corpus uelamine tecta,
prosiluit stratis, humilique egressa fenestra
per patulos currit plantis pernicibus agros:
donec harenoso, sic fama, Numicius illam
suscepit gremio, uitreisque abscondidit antris.
orta dies totum radiis impleuerat orbem,
cum nullam Aeneadae thalamis Sidonida nacti,
et Rutulum magno errantes clamore per agrum,
uicini ad ripas fluuii manifesta secuntur
signa pedum: dumque inter se mirantur, ab alto
amnis aquas cursumque rapit. tum sedibus imis
inter caeruleas uisa est residere sorores
Sidonis, et placido Teucros affarier ore.
ex illo primis anni celebrata diebus
per totam Ausoniam uenerando numine culta est.
hanc postquam in tristis Italum Saturnia pugnas
hortata est, celeri superum petit aethera curru,
optatum Latii tandem potura cruorem.
diua deae parere parat, magnumque Libyssae
ductorem gentis nulli conspecta petebat.
ille, uirum coetu tum forte remotus ab omni,
incertos rerum euentus bellique uolutans,
anxia ducebat uigili suspiria uoce.
cui dea sic dictis curas solatur amicis:
quid tantum ulterius, rex o fortissime gentis
Sidoniae, ducis cura aegrescente dolorem?
omnis iam placata tibi manet ira deorum,
omnis Agenoridis rediit fauor. eia, age, segnis
rumpe moras, rape Marmaricas in proelia uires.
mutati fasces: iam bellum atque arma senatus
ex inconsulto posuit Tirynthius heros,
cumque alio tibi Flaminio sunt bella gerenda.
me tibi, ne dubites, summi matrona Tonantis
misit: ego Oenotris aeternum numen in oris
concelebror, uestri generata e sanguine Beli.
haud mora sit: rapido belli rape fulmina cursu,
Celsus Iapygios *ubi* se Garganus in agros

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explicat: haud longe tellus: huc dirige signa.
[haec, ut Roma cadat, sat erit uictoria Poenis].
dixit, et in nubes humentia sustulit ora.

NOTES.

139 a. Interpolated first in Juntine (1515), received in Aldine (1523) and its followers, and defended by Dausquei (1615). Condemned by Modius novant 28 (1584), bracketed by Drakenborch (1717) and his followers, rejected by D Heinsius (1600) and most good editors, and finally by Ruperti (1795).

140 foll. Imitation of Aen IV 642 foll, in Silius' usual manner.

143—4. Aen IV 655—6 *urbem praeclaram statui, mea moenia uidi, ulta uirum poenas inimico a fratre recepi*, the order of which lines is changed by Ribbeck, and the transposition agrees with our passage.

144. *constructas = structas*, cf XIV 46—7 *structis qui...donarunt nomina muris.* The word does not seem to be common in this sense, for XIV 351 *constructaque saxa*, Aen IX 711—2 *pila...magnis quam molibus ante constructam*, etc refer to concrete blocks. See my note on Lucan II 673 in Classical Review IX 194.

145. N Heinsius on 155 thinks *corporis* too frigid, and suggests *nominis.* But cf Lucan VI 720 *proiecti corporis umbram*, CIL VII 250 *simulacrum corporis umbra.* In an Introduction to Haskins' Lucan (§ 34 e) I have collected other illustrative matter. In general cf Aen IV 654 *magna mei...imago*, and see the notes of Drak and Rup.

146—7. Aen VI 473—4 *coniunx ubi pristinus illi respondet curis aequatque Sychaeus amorem.*

148. This elision is common in Silius. In particular cf XI 14 *Calatia adegit*, VII 338 *tentoria Acherrae*, 626 *in uiscera adegit*, XV 613 *silentia alebant.*

149. Aen IV 646—7 *ensem....Dardanium, non hos quaesitum munus in usus.* For *ensem* repeated cf XI 356—7 *ferrum...ferrum*, and for the position of the second *ensem* at the beginning of the line cf I 201—2 *Athlas*, II 26—7 *nostrum.*

150. *comites*, Aen IV 664.

150—1. Aen IV 667—8 .....*et femineo ululatu tecta fremunt, resonat magnis plangoribus aether.*

152—3. Aen IV 672—3 *audiit exanimis trepidoque exterrita cursu unguibus ora soror foedans....*

153. I 458—9 *ruit ocius amens lymphato cursu*, Aen VII 377 *furit lymphata per urbem.*

154. III 528 *euadere nisi*, Aen IV 685 *gradus euaserat altos.*

155. N Heinsius, objecting to *diro* so soon after *diris* (152), proposed *ter Phrygio rueram.*

155—6. *ter...ter*, Aen IV 690—1.

157. *serebatur* N Heinsius.

157—8. The abruptness of this from the first struck me, and I thought it by far the most suspicious feature in the whole of this disputed passage. I find that Cellarius (1695) also had raised a similar objection. But the restoration of the omitted line (157 a) from Constantius removes the difficulty, giving a reasonable consequence of the report of Dido's death and a reasonable motive for Anna's flight.

157 a. *nomadum* Const, and *nomades*, not *numidae*, is by far the more common form in Silius. See Bauer's index. *scaeuus* Const, so in capp 16, 38, *scaeuire* and *scaeuitia*. *hiarbas* Const. For spelling see Blass p 215, Bauer on I 39, 417, II 58. We have now reached a point where Silius begins again to follow Ovid in the story of Anna [fasti III 545—660] as he had done above in VIII 50 foll. Here however as in 57 he departs from Ovid in one important detail: Battus, with whom Anna takes refuge, is not king of Melite (Ovid 567—70), but of Cyrene. For the present passage cf 54—5 *despectus taedae regnis se imponit Iarbas, et tepido fugit Anna rogo*, Ovid 551—2 *protinus inuadunt Numidae sine uindice regnum, et potitur capta Maurus Iarba domo.*

158. *fatis* = *regum euentus* in 60.

159. This elision, with residuary dactyl, is not uncommon in Silius, as IV 502 *Sicania*, VIII 460 *Fulginia*, XIII 667 *militia*. So with spondee VIII 299, XIII 646, 657. For matter cf. 67—8 *donec iactatam laceris, miserabile, uelis fatalis turbo in Laurentis expulit oras*, Ovid 599—600 *figitur ad Laurens ingenti flamine litus puppis, et expositis omnibus hausta perit*, 621 *seu ratio te nostris appulit oris siue deus.*

160. Aen I 303—4 *regina quietum accipit in Teucros animum mentemque benignam.*

161. *suscipere* of mental or moral action (*causam, patrocinium, odium* etc) seems rare in poets. But it is a very Ciceronian word, and we know from Martial that Silius was a follower of Cicero. Traces of the latter's influence are found in the *Punica*: thus Muretus (var lect x) pointed out that VII 219—22 is from pro Rabirio perd reo § 18. In 191 below *suscepit* is of physical action, for which cf Aen IV 391, XI 806, I 175, where some prefer the archaic form *succipere*.

162. *omnis...omnisque*. This repetition with *que* is rather common in Silius, cf V 232 *nimium pugnae nimiumque cruoris*, VII 591—2 *maiorem surgere in arma maioremque dedit cerni*, XIV 175 *per medios ignis mediosque per ensis*, 499 *melior remo meliorque sagitta*. So with *et* XVII 413 *feruidus ingenii Masinissa et feruidus aeui*. For *curas*, XIII 263 *pulsis uiuendi e pectore curis.*

163. *dispellere* is not a common word (see dictt), and seems to come in Silius here only. In VI 86 *expulerint.....dolorem.*

164. The pause after *uidebatur* is heavy, but we have the same after *recensebant* in 577, and *remolitur* I 36. So also after *cadaueribus* VI 708.

164 foll. Ovid 639—41 *nox erat: ante torum uisa est adstare sororis squalenti Dido sanguinulenta coma et 'fuye, ne dubita, maestum fuge' dicere 'tectum'.*

165. The same line exactly as VII 282.

171. *ac* Drak. *at* Const and Aldine. *an* or *ah* conjectured by N Heinsius, *ah* previously by Livineius.

171—2. Aen IV 541—2 *nescis heu perdita necdum Laomedonteae sentis periuria gentis?*

172. *nescis* Aldine (? and N Heins). *sentis* Livineius. *nosti* Blass. For the ending cf 424 *Picenae stimulat telluris alumnos.*

173—5. Imitation of Aen IV 622—9. For the language Ruperti cf VII 476—8 *dum cete ponto innabunt, dum sidera caelo lucebunt, dum sol Indo se litore tollet, hic regna et nullae regnis per saecula metae,* Aen I 607—10.

173. Ovid met II 70 *assidua rapitur uertigine caelum.*

176—7. Ovid fasti III 633—4 *omnia promittit falsumque Lauinia uolnus mente premit tacita dissimulatque fremens,* 637—8 *furialiter odit et parat insidias et cupit ulta mori.*

176. *Lăuinia.* So *monstrata Lauinia* in XIII 806, and Ovid just cited. *Lāuinia* Verg and Ovid met XIV 570. Silius uses it long in the adjective = 'of Lavinium'.

177. *sub corde uolutat* again XII 556.

178. *praeuenias* Barth, unwisely. Aen VIII 42 *ne uana putes haec fingere somnum.* For *somnum* see III 216, X 340—74.

179. *Numicus.* So the acc *Numicum* is said to be right in Liv I 2 § 6, and voc *Numice* occurs in an inscription [Bücheler carm epigraph 212]. The gen *Numici* [Verg, Tibull, Ovid, Silius elsewhere] is common, but may be from the commoner nom *Numicius,* for which see 190, Ovid fasti and met XIV 599.

180. *leni,* so Ovid 653 *placidi...Numici.*

181. Aen XI 527 *tutique receptus* best MSS and Ribbeck. So the verb in XIV 53—4 *Arethusa suum piscoso fonte receptat Alpheon,* Lucan VII 810—1.

183. *celebrabere in oris.* This elision in 5th foot is common in Silius, e g VII 591 *surgere in arma,* IX 96 *tendere in armis,* X 556 *caligine, in auras,* XII 698 *perrumpere in arces,* XIII 236 *optabile in armis,* XV 17 *deposcere in aeuo,* etc.

184. Aen IV 278 *et procul in tenuem ex oculis euanuit auram.*

185. Aen II 302 *excutior somno,* III 172 *talibus attonitus uisis.*

186. Aen III 175 *gelidus toto manabat corpore sudor.*

186—91. Ovid 643—8 *exsilit et uelox humili super arua*

fenestra se iacit: audacem fecerat ipse timor. quaque metu rapitur, tunica uelata recincta currit, ut auditis territa damma lupis. corniger hanc cupidis rapuisse Numicius undis creditur et stagnis occuluisse suis.

187. So XVII 114 *uelamine nullo.* The word *uelamen* is common in Silius.

188. cf XVII 121 *ubi prosiluit castris. egressa* objected to by N Heinsius, who proposed *elapsa*, wrongly, I think. For *fenestra* cf Ovid above and met XIV 752 *et patulis iniit tectum sublime fenestris*, Aen II 482, Plautus Cas 132—40.

189. *patulus* is a favourite word of Silius, e g VII 376 *et in patulos exultans emicat agros*, XV 556—7 *patulos regione Metauri damnaui tumulis Poenorum atque ossibus agros.*

190. *sic fama* as VI 631, and elsewhere with *est.* Drak.

191. *suscepit.* See on 161. VII 413 *uitreis e sedibus antri.*

192—202. Ovid 649—54 *Sidonis interea magno clamore per agros quaeritur. apparent signa notaeque pedum: uentum erat ad ripas: inerant uestigia ripis: sustinuit tacitas conscius amnis aquas. ipsa loqui uisa est 'placidi sum nympha Numici; amne perenne latens Anna Perenna uocor'.*

193. *Sidōnida*, but 199 *Sidŏnis*, and 70 *Sidonis in Latia trepidabat naufraga terra.* So he often has *Sidōnius* and *Sidŏnius* cf XI 281, 298, also *Sĭcānus* and *Sīcănus*, and once *chelȳdris* (VIII 496) though normally *chelīdris.* For *nacti* = 'finding' or 'catching', with personal object, cf Aen IX 331, XII 749, Ovid met X 438, VI 693, and XIII 548 *signaque nacta pedum sequitur*, Cic de fin I § 14.

194. This line is suspected by Barth, unreasonably, I think. The rhythm is very Silian.

196—7. That the meaning is 'the river drew back its waters', I have no doubt. The part of the river above where the nymph lay ceased to run off downwards to the sea while the part below continued its course. Thus the bed would be exposed and the nymph be seen. In short *ab alto* is the opposite of *in altum.* I do not take *altum* by itself as = 'sea', but the whole expression as an adverb, 'to the deep' or 'deepwards' = 'downwards', hence inferentially 'seawards'. And conversely *ab alto* = 'from the deep' = 'upwards'. If *alto* is literally 'sea', we may illustrate from Lucan VIII 36 where [*ratis*] *euexit in altum* follows 34 where [*amnis*] *exibat in aequor.* The *ἄνω ποταμῶν* is a commonplace, and Silius has it like the rest, IV 444 *fontique relabitur amnis*, V 624 *reflui pugnarunt montibus amnes.* But in the present case the superiority of Ovid's *sustinuit* is clear.

197. *sursumque rapit* Barth, miserably.

199. The form *affarier* is cited by Georges and Neue (new ed) from this passage only, with no hint of spuriousness. Yet the former at least confessedly speaks on the authority of Bauer who

[see p 199] professes to regard the lines as spurious. This is strange. We know *farier* from Vergil, and we find *adiungier* Val F II 421, *dicier* and *fallier* in Persius I 28, III 50, *defendier* in Juv XV 157. But, so far as I can discover, there is no other instance of this form in Silius. He is however fond of old forms, as I 104 *olli*, III 352 *gerundum*, VI 134 *ergo* with gen. His syncopated forms of archaic flavour are numerous, as *faxo* (often), *iusso*, *immisti*, *amorim*, *abscessem*, *affixet*, *euasti*, *protraxtis*, *remorunt*, etc. See Ruperti's appendix *de stylo Siliano*. I see therefore nothing strange here in *affarier*.

200. *primis diebus*, in the month of March, Ovid 523 *idibus est Annae festum geniale Perennae*.

201. *uenerando*, an almost technical word, see Bücheler carm epigr 263 *nymphis uenerandis*, 266 *aram uenerandam*.

202 foll. We have got to the end of the story of Anna, which began as a digression at line 44. We now pick up the main narrative. Lines 202—24 are closely connected with 25—43 above: Anna carries out the orders of Juno with faithful and minute precision.

203. So 29 *blandis hortatibus implet*.

204. So 7 Hannibal sees that while Fabius is opposed to him *nequicquam sese Latium sperare cruorem*. I cannot find *potura* elsewhere in Silius, but the form is known in Ovid and Lucan, and we have *epoto* XIII 706. For *Latii* Constantius gives *latiis*, which is rightly corrected in the Aldine and other edd.

205 foll. This is not unlike Juno's nightly visit to Hannibal in IV 724 foll.

205. *diua*, Anna, so 39—40 *tum diua.....'haud' inquit 'tua ius nobis praecepta morari'*. Aen IV 238—9 *ille Patris magni parere parabat imperio*.

207 foll. So II 481—2 *arcanis dea laeta polo tum forte remoto caelicolum magnas uoluebat conscia curas*.

207. In our passage of 82 lines this is the only one with the 4th and 5th trochee *forte remotus*. I find 186 instances in the 12202 lines of Silius, or about 1·5 per cent. I observe that books I—VIII give a higher percentage than books IX—XVII.

208. Aen VI 157—8 *caecosque uolutat euentus animo secum*. Rup.

209. *suspiria* attributed to Hannibal XI 221, XVII 215, to a bull XVI 266. *uoce*, so when Hannibal talks in his sleep I 66—7 *famuli...expauere trucem per uasta silentia uocem* [so Maraxes in VII 325—7]. That here he is not actually asleep *uigili* shews. The powerful voice of Hannibal is often referred to, as XI 341 *diram, qua uertit per campos agmina, uocem*, XII 210—1 *uincebat clamore tubas uocisque uigore quamuis obstructas saeuus penetrabat in aures*. Perhaps then *uigili uoce* means 'awake and talking aloud to

himself'. Of proposed emendations (*nocte, corde, uoto*) the *nocte* of Livineius and N Heinsius deserves consideration. The passages I 245—6, III 172—3, VII 284—7, 305, 339—41, IX 4—5, XI 409, XII 559—61 might have been cited in support. But, if we are to emend at all, I should prefer *mente*, citing I 558, III 162, X 357, XVII 159—60. The interchange of *e* and *o*, *t* and *c*, is well known, and is abundantly illustrated in Silius' text. See Bauer's notes on IX 460, 596, XI 313, XII 37, 413, for the former; and II 380, III 436, V 45, VII 89, IX 77, 117, 132, 244, X 15, 151, 440, XI 18, XIII 505, XIV 206, for the latter. But whether it is necessary to suppose that the copyist wrote *uoce* for *mēte*, I doubt.

210. *curas*, cf VII 285 *curis flagrantia corda*, 305—6 *Fabius me noctibus aegris, in curas Fabius nos excitat*, XVII 160 *grauis curis carpit dum nocte quietem*, 184—5 *et aegra expendit tacite cura secum ipse uolutans*. The words here refer back to 32 above *perge age et insanos curarum comprime fluctus*.

211. *rex* applied to Hannibal IV 131, 446, 722, so *tyrannus* I 239, II 239, IV 707, V 202, XI 31, *solio* II 292, *regni* II 299, *regnum* XI 589. The point is to be noted for the contrast with Scipio, who in XVI 279—84, when saluted by the Spanish tribes as *rex*, refuses the title, saying that it is unRoman. When he is spoken of XVII 627 as *securus sceptri*, we should with Ernesti understand that he is regarded as the representative of Rome.

212. *aegrescente*, cf XVII 170 *his aegrum uisis*, and see on 210.

213. cf 234—5 *placauimus iras caelicolum; redeunt diui*. For *manet* with the participle cf VI 656 *nam porticibus signata manebant* and several instances in Vergil. But in our passage the word looks rather to the future than to the past: the gods' wrath has been appeased and promises to remain so, as when we say that a weather-glass is 'set fair'. Of this the nearest illustration I can find is Aen I 257—8 *manent immota tuorum fata tibi*, that is, their destiny has not been disturbed and is not meant to be. N Heinsius' *namque* for *manet* is quite unnecessary.

214. *fauor*, cf II 206 *diuumque abeunte fauore*, V 228, VII 12, XVII 331, etc.

214—5. Aen IV 569 *heia age rumpe moras*, georg III 42—3 *en age segnis rumpe moras*. Rup.

215. *rumpe...rape...uires*, cf VII 529 *torquet totas in proelia uires*, 531 *rape, miles, tempora pugnae*, XV 548 *rumpe atque expelle quietem*, 554 *ni propere alipedes rapis ad certamina turmas*.

216—7. The adjective *inconsultus* occurs again 545, VII 518, but I can find no other instance anywhere of the substantive. The nearest is Plaut mil 602 *bene consultum inconsultumst si id inimicis usuist*. The adverb *inconsulto* is the ablative crystallized, as the passage ad Herenn III § 8 well shews, *ne deos quidem esse auxilio eis qui se inconsulto in periculum mittant*. And *senatus inconsulto* is a

brief and forcible phrase = *senatus consulto inconsulto ac temerario*, coined from the usual *senatus consulto*, as we might coin 'Collective Unwisdom' from 'Collective Wisdom'. Silius is fond of the word *consultum* [I have noted 18 instances], and in VI 455 we find *quae consultata senatus*. Surely Drakenborch and others rightly keep the text, and N Heinsius' proposals *en ex consulto* or *ecce e consulto*, Livineius' *senatu ex inconsulto*, and others, are worse than useless. What Silius means is illustrated by VII 513—4 *tunc indigna fide censent optandaque Poeno, quae mox haud paruo luerent damnata periclo.*

Tirynthius heros is Fabius. See references in Bauer's index, II 3 *Fabius, Tirynthia proles*, etc. Above (33) Juno had said to Anna *excute sollicito Fabium.*

218. Varro is below (310) called *alter Flaminius.* Juno had said above (35—6) *cum Varrone manus et cum Varrone serenda proelia.* The line is formed like VII 745 *cum solo tibi iam Fabio sunt bella gerenda.*

220. *oenotriis* Constantius: and so in IX 473 the best existing MSS give *enotriis* or *aenotriis*, which editors mostly correct.

221. *concelebrare* = to 'honour', worship, etc, is rare; indeed Tibull I 7 49—50 is the only instance given in dictionaries. I believe the word does not occur again in Silius in any sense.

For Belus see Bauer's index. Here we refer to Juno's words (30—1) *sanguine cognato inuenis tibi, diua, laborat Hannibal, a uestro nomen memorabile Belo.*

222. N Heinsius objects to *rapido...rape*, and several emendations are proposed. Livineius tacitly wrote *pete* for *rape*. Drak cites VII 116 *uolucri rapit agmina cursu*, and I agree with him that the text should stand.

223. So Juno above (37) *tendat iamdudum in Iapyga campum.* In this line all editors give *qua*, but Constantius has *ubi*, as N Heinsius observes. I restore *ubi.*

224. *explicat* = 'unrolls', as we say 'melts into the plain'. Hence XVII 600 *Gargani campum.* Lucan several times uses the word in like connexions, see VI 376—7.

signa, so Juno (36) *nec desit fatis ad signa mouenda.*

224 a. So VII 233 *una, ut debellet, satis est uictoria Poeno*, from which Drak and his followers assume the line to have been made up by an interpolator. Its absence from the early editions and appearance in the Aldine and its followers are pointed out by the critics. But N Heinsius tells us that it was not in the *Coloniensis* [C]. I will add, what they do not say, that it is given by Constantius. If I am right in thinking that his contribution came from the *Sangallensis* [S], we must assume that S had the line, though C had not.

It seems to me most probable that it stood in the margin[1] of S, and that its genuineness must remain doubtful. Therefore I would not eject it with most editors from Lefebvre [1781] to Bauer, but leave it in brackets with Drakenborch. The close resemblance to VII 233 proves nothing.

In the foregoing notes I have tried not to shirk any point on which, so far as I could see, stress might be laid. I will now speak of some of the more striking details in general.

It will be noticed that the imitation of Vergil is sometimes quite servile, and that the closeness with which Ovid is followed in the episode of Anna is remarkable. Now the former is a constant characteristic of Silius. The latter is merely what happens to other authors in other passages of the *Punica*; for instance to Lucan over and over again. Nothing that will serve his turn comes amiss to our writer, who[2] *scribebat carmina maiore cura quam ingenio.*

The close relation, even in verbal resemblances, of many lines in the passage to other lines in the poem, particularly to lines in the neighbourhood of the passage, is manifest. Now this not only happens elsewhere, as is natural, but we may trace it in what precedes and follows this very passage. Thus VIII 33—4 *sola illa Latinos sub iuga mittendi mora,* 273—4 *mora sola triumpho paruum iter est.* So too the two passages about *suffragia caeca* etc VII 540—5, VIII 255—62, and those about the Fabian strategy VIII 11—20, 318—22. In short, there is nothing suspicious in these resemblances.

The words 144 *constructas,* 161 *susceperat,* 163 *dispulerat,* 221 *concelebror,* and the forms 179 *Numicus,* 199 *affarier,* 204 *potura,* do not seem suspicious to me; in fact I should rather expect them from Silius than from a 15th century interpolator. Of 196 *ab alto,* 209 *uoce,* 213 *manet* I think the same: and 217 *inconsulto* seems to me an utterly improbable venture for an interpolator.

[1] This would leave us to conclude that it was in the margin of a page used by the Poggian copyist, and not seen or at least not copied by him. Or that it was at the foot of one of the newly-found pages, and was put after 224 by Guarini or his copyist. Or that some complication caused by an erasure had taken place. In any case it may have been in S and yet be no more than an early interpolation.

[2] Plin epp III 7 § 5.

How very skilful such an interpolator must have been is shewn by his taking Anna (not, with Ovid, to Melite, but) to Cyrene as in 57 above. He might it is true have worked in the story out of Ovid, and then changed this detail to suit what had preceded. But, unless his existence be on other grounds much more probable than it seems to me, I must still think it more likely that this peculiarity betrays the hand of Silius himself. And it is notable that, of the editions that profess to supply the matter of the lost passage, Marsus does not touch on this point: while the Basel editions [1522, 1543][1], giving a long and practically identical supplement, take Anna to Melite; which is just what I should expect an interpolator to do.

In the notes on 157 a *Nomadum*, 162 *omnisque*, 189 *patulos*, 211 *rex*, 217 *Tirynthius*, 221 *Belus*, I have touched on points that seem to me eminently Silian. The words come in naturally, without a sign of effort, and I cannot attribute such strokes to another hand without the strongest reasons.

Lastly, the connexion of the passage is surely too good and natural for the work of a strange hand. Not only does it join on admirably to the context at both ends, but the easy way in which, when the episode of Anna is done with, the next piece [202 foll] looks back to the point before the digression [43 prec] is very far more natural as the author's own design.

Therefore I hold that internal probability is in itself sufficient to defend the doubted lines, unless (which is not the case) they are impeached by external evidence of overwhelming strength.

The results of my inquiry may be summed up in a few words.

1. I accept the lines 144—223 on the evidence of Constantius, which is not in the least degree weakened by any external or internal evidence that I have been able to discover.

2. On the same authority I restore the line 157 a, which was at first omitted by an oversight in the Aldine edition, and has never yet appeared in any edition of the poem.

[1] See pp 190—1.

3. I also keep the line 224 a, but in brackets, as we have evidence that it was not in C. This evidence is given in the comment of N Heinsius as edited by Drakenborch: Heinsius must have got the fact from the collation which is understood to have been made by Carrion. It is to be hoped that the tradition has not been vitiated by any error in the course of its transmission to us.

In conclusion I have to express my heartfelt thanks to all those who have in various ways given me their kind help. And in particular to D^{r} von Heinemann of the Wolfenbüttel Library, D^{r} P H Damsté of Leiden, D^{r} F Boll of Munich; the Library authorities at Göttingen, of the Bodleian, the British Museum, Queen's College Oxford, and Trinity College Cambridge; and not least to Professors Robinson Ellis and Bywater of Oxford.

W E HEITLAND

NOTES ON NONIUS.

[Mr J. H. Onions, late Student and Tutor of Christ Church, Oxford, at his death in 1889 left ready for the press a portion of an edition of Nonius Marcellus *De conpendiosa Doctrina* on which he had long been engaged. This portion consisted of a text of Books i—iii, a full record of MS variants, collated by himself, for the same books and an introduction on the manuscripts. Mr Onions' papers were entrusted to Professor Nettleship, who undertook to prepare a complete edition of Nonius with a critical and general commentary. Death again cut short the work and it was left to the friends of Mr Onions and Mr Nettleship to rescue mere fragments of what, in the hands of either scholar, would have been a great edition. Mr W. M. Lindsay, Fellow of Jesus College, has published the material left ready for the press by Mr Onions (Oxford, 1895): the following pages contain all that Mr Nettleship had written out in more or less final shape before his death in 1893, the critical apparatus and some other notes to a part of Book i. In the apparatus, the manuscript readings are taken from Mr Onions' collations: the conjectures of other scholars and the discussions on the text are due to Mr Nettleship. It has seemed to me needless to reprint here the text of Nonius which the apparatus concerns. Mr Nettleship left only the text drawn up by Mr Onions, with alterations where he differed from it, and with the help of this, I have marked below by clarendon type the readings which he preferred in disputed passages as well as some other words in the text to which critical notes refer, so far as clearness seemed to require. In some cases, especially at the end of the fragment, it was not

clear what Mr Nettleship actually intended to read. The whole fragment, indeed, is printed rather as illustrating its author's ideas of an edition of Nonius than as containing his finished work in detail.

It may be convenient to collect here the conjectures of his own which Mr Nettleship mentions in the following pages[1]:—

i. 12 M (Attius Amphitryone) *an mavis mala Aetate male mulcare e. o.*

iii. 13 <VESTES ACV PICTAS *Phryges primi invenerunt, nam et artifices talium vestium phrygiones appel>lati ab <hoc>* (Serv. Aen. ix. 611).

iv. 2 *fordeo* for *hordeo.* iv. 15 *colleatum* for *coculeatum.* iv. 24 (Plaut. Miles 627) *tu? tame* &c.

vi. 21 *Romana* for *vana.*

vii. 5 (Pacuvius Duloreste) *ne calvitur* (*ne* = *ni*).

viii. 16 (Plaut. Epid. 152) *aliqua exsolvar.* viii. 18 (Varro Gerontodidascalo) *tellanas* or *telanas.*

ix. 16 MUTTVS.

xii. 19 (Varro Pappo) *nasturtium indigeno nomine vides.*

xiii. 4 sicuti graece ab *ἀντλεῖν ἀντλία.*

xv. 7 (Attius Alphesiboea) *inecnodabile.*

xvi. 11 Perhaps *sellam.*

xvi. 24 (Cicero Tusc. Disp. iv. 16) *lactatio* for *iactatio.*

xvii. 31 *de recta* for *de recto.* xviii. 17 *rutando* for *radendo.*

xix. 5 Perhaps *Turrium.*

xxii. 10 Two glosses confused. xxii. 31 (Lucil. xi. 16) perhaps *Paconi.*

xxiii. 10 Perhaps *quod amici.*

xxv. 1 Perhaps *buam.*

[1] The references here and in the following pages are to the pagination of Mercier's second edition.

F. HAVERFIELD.]

ABBREVIATIONS.

(1) MANUSCRIPTS.

A = Bamberg M.V. 18
B = Berne 83
C = Paris 7666
D = Paris 7665 and Berne 347 and 357
E = Escurial M III 14
F = Florence XLVIII 1
G = Geneva 84
H = Harleian 2719
L = Leyden, Voss F 73
M = Montpellier 212
O = Oxford (Bodleian, Can. Lat. 279)
P = Paris 7667
T = Zürich C 79 b
V = Wolfenbüttel, Gud. 96
X = Leyden, Voss 116

(2) EDITIONS, &c.

	Editio Princeps of 1470 (Pomponius Laetus)
	Editio Princeps of 1471
	Jenson 1476
	Parma 1480
	Venice 1483
Ald.	Aldine 1513
Bentin.	Notes by Bentinus at the end of Aldine 1527
Jun.	Hadrianus Junius 1565
Me.[1]	Mercier 1583
Goth.	Gothofredus 1585
Me.[2]	Mercier 1614
Gerl.	Gerlach and Roth 1842
Quich.	Quicherat 1872
L. M.	Lucian Müller 1888
J. H. O.	J. H. Onions

Apparatus Criticus.

Title. LGB have no general title. *Noni* HPE: *Nonii* FVACXDMO. *Peripathetici* FHPACX: *Peripatheticus* DMO. *Tuburgicensis* FHPEAX: *Tuburcigensis* V: *Tiburcicensis* CDMO. *Conpendiosa* CX: *Compendiosa* HPVADM. *Per Litteras ad Filium* FHPVEACXDMO. *Per litteras* is, as Mercier remarks in his first edition, out of place, and was omitted in the editions before Junius, but reintroduced by Mercier[2].

Index. Only in L and P. II. *De inhonestis et nove* LPV: *honeste set nova* L. M: *honeste seu nove* J. H. O. *signification* P: *significatio* L. VI. ××××× *inpropriis* L. VIII. *delclinatione* P.

Book I.

1 2 *sunt* H[1]. **Ephesione** *efesione* FHLP[2]VEAX: *effesione* P[1]: *effessione* C: *ephesione* pr. 1: *effesione* pr. 2. *Ephestione* Jens. Ald. 1, 2: *Hephaestione* Jun. in his *elenchus auctorum*, conjecturing also *Ephesio* and *Aethrione*. *Ephesione* Merc. *Ephesio, nae tum* Spengel. Ribbeck reminds us of Menander's Ἐφέσιος, but retains *Ephesio* (nom.) as the name of a slave. 5 **Tum equidem in senecta** *tum in senectute* codd. *tum equidem in senecta* Cicero de Sen. 8. 25: *tum etiam in senectute* Jun. Me.[2], *tum autem* L. M. 6 **eumpse** *eum ipsum esse* codd. *eum se esse* the Leyden (that is the best) MS of Cicero l. c. whence Fleckeisen (Jahn's Jahrbücher, 1865, p. 566) conj. *eumpse. esse odiosum se* Jun. *ipsum esse odiosum* Bothe. 8 *honustum* X. 10 **malast mers mala ergost** *mala est mers mala est ergo* codd. *mala est merx mala est ergo* the best MSS of Plautus: *merx mala est tergo* Turnebus, whose *tergo* has been accepted by Ritschl, Brix, and Wagner: *malast mers, male ergost* Spengel, De Canticis Plautinis, p. 277: *ut aetas mala ergo malast mers* Schöll. For the form *mers=merx*, see Ritschl, Opusc. 2, p. 652 foll. *Mors* the editions before Ald. *merx* Ald.

to L. Müller. 11 *Accius* codd. 12 *an mala aetate* FHLPVACX : *an mala aetate te* codd. cett. *mulcare* V¹. *An málad aetate mávis male mulcári exemplis ómnibus* Ribbeck : *malán aetate mávis*, etc. L. M. *Án mala Aetáte te mavís male mulcári exemplis ómnibus* J. H. O. Perhaps *An mavís mala Aetate male m. e. o.* (H. N.).

14 *Philopatro* is from a bastard form *Philopater* or *Philopatrus :* the Greek form is Φιλοπάτωρ. 15 L. M. writes the whole as one line. 15 **hic** om. L¹F¹. *hunc* Ribbeck, to agree with *cruciatum.*

2 1 **reticentia** L¹ as conjectured by Gulielmus Ver. 1, c. 17 : *recenti* P¹, and so Bentin. *reticenti* the other MSS. 3 **si possent** *in possent* F¹, *ni possent* Schoppe Ver. 2, c. 20. *delinimentis* A. 5 **tenerum** *tenerumst* L. M. who compares Lucr. 4, 1278 foll. 7 **nulla** *multa* or *alia* Madvig Adv. 2, p. 653. 9 **<istis> ipsis voluptatibus** *istis ipsis voluptatibus* MSS of Cicero, *istis* omitted by MSS of Nonius, restored by Meursius Exx. Crit. 2, 232. 10 **lubentius** *libentius* L¹P²AD. *lubentius fruitur* om. P¹. 11 *partem* A¹ *diem partiens* the *vetus codex* of Scaliger, editions down to Ald., which first has **diei partes primas:** *partem primam* Quicherat, L. M. 12 **puberem** *puverem* L¹V¹H², *pubuerem* P¹, *puerum* A²X¹. 13 **diei est** Nonius ; *est* om. M¹P of Vergil. 15 **Senium ipsum** *ennium ipsum* F¹. **Quot pestis, senia** *quod pestis* MSS, but L¹ omits *quod. petis senia* or *petissenia* editions before Ald. which has *pesti senis; pestes senia* Jun. **sese ecmigrarunt aedibus** *sesemet diebus* MSS : *emigrarent* FH¹X, the rest *emigrarunt. Sesemet hisced emigrarunt aedibus* Gul. Ver. 1, c. 24 : *sese meis aedibus* Lipsius Ant. Lect. 4, 5 : *semet aedibus emigrarunt* Bothe : *his semul emigrarunt aedibus* Rib., *semet diebus hisce Foras emigrarunt* L. M. Ribbeck mentions other conjectures. 18 **operaeque actor, <auctor>** *opere quae* H²LPVEA¹C : *opere que* FH¹A²X : *auctor V¹* : *operaeque* pr.¹ : *opere quae* edd. from pr.² to Me.¹ : *operae quae* Me.² : *operae coactor* Lips. A. L. 5, 14 : *o operae* Munke, L. M. : *operae atque actor* Quich. : *operaeque actor* Ribbeck, who refers to Marquardt, Röm. Alt. 5, 1 p. 137 note: *operaeque actor, auctor* J. H. O., *Journal of Philology,* 32, p. 162. 20 *amicis* P : *subicit* L¹. *mihi* FHLPVACK.

22 **adportas** L^1ACK. 23 **divisum** *diversum* Quicherat. 25 *primum* ACX. *trebelleis* L^1. **multost** *multos* FHLACX: *multo* P. **Lucius** *titos lucios* $F^3HLPACX$: *licios* F^1 *multost Lucius* Lachmann Lucr. p. 66. 26 **νάρκη †sibai†** *narcessibai* or *narcesibai* MSS: *marcescibat* edd. 1476, 1480: *marcescebat* Ald. 1, 2: *multo Obmarcescebat* Jun. Me.^{1} *nam sanat febres* Lachmann l. c.: *nam arcessit febres* L. M. *νάρκη* J. H. O. *frebris* P. **plus** MSS and edd. before Ald. *pus* Ald. 28 **morbo odio** J. H. O.

3 2 *et gestas* C. **exiliumque et grandaevitas** *exiliumque et senectus* MSS, ed. 1471 Ald. and subsequent editions: *exiliumque et senectus et sitis perpetua* edd. 1470, 1476, 1480: for *senectus* Ribbeck conj. *desertitas*, Bücheler *mendicitas*: *exilium... queis enectus sum* L. M. *Grandaevitas* J. H. O., *Journal of Philology*, l. c. 3 *velis* for **levis** Scaliger's *vetus codex*. **dicta** bracketed by L. M. 5 *verbis velitationem* MSS of Plautus and Nonius: **verbivelitationem** (= *λογομαχίαν*) Meursius Exerc. Crit. 1, p. 31. **conpendi** *comprehendi* ed. 1470: *compendio* C edd. 1471—1483: *compendi* Ald. 7 **duos** F^3, MSS of Plautus: *duo* the other MSS of Nonius. *duos* edd. from 1470 to Junius. **velitati** fortasse *velitatis* L. M. 9 **comparce** FH^1 Scaliger's *vetus codex*: edd. 1470, 1476, 1480, 1483: *comperce* the other MSS ed. 1471, Ald. and subsequent edd. **velitare** *velitarem* C: *velitare* the other MSS, and edd. to Ald. inclusive, Me.^{2}, Bothe, Ribbeck, Gerlach: *velitari* Jun., Me.^{1}, Quich., L. M. 10 **Privigno** *Privigna* MSS except C, which has *privign.*; edd. 1471, 1476, Me.^{2}, Gerl.; *Privigno* edd. 1470, 1480, 1483, Ald., Jun., Me.^{1}, Bothe, Ribbeck, Quich., L. M. *Privigno* is attested by Festus pp. 229, 334 M., and Nonius p. 333. 12 **verba iactare** MSS and edd. to L. M., who reads *verbis verba lactare.* Ribbeck, who now keeps to the MSS, once thought of *verbis lactare.* 13 **velitari, velificarier** *velitare* E^1: *velificarier* MSS, *labris inter se velitarier*, Carrio Emend. 2, 16, Me.^{2}: *vellicarier* Gerlach, *velicarier* L. M. 13 **Caecilius Pausimacho...** 14 **<VESTES ACV PICTAS Phryges primi invenerunt nam et artifices talium vestium phrygiones appel>lati ab <hoc>**...after *Pausimacho* (*Pausimachomum* FHLPVACX): *interent tamen* F^2HL^2PEACX: *interem tamen*

F^1L^1: *iterent tamen* V. *aut unde nigerrimus Auster leat hoc* FHLPVC, *lateat hoc* AX. P has a space of a line after *interent tamen,* and a line and a half after *leat.* V has a sign of error at *interent tamen,* and a space after *leat* with the note *hic desunt* IV *lineae quae in autentico non erant scriptae.* E has a sign of error at *interent tamen,* and a space of a line and a half after *leat.* The MSS here interpose a passage which belongs to pp. 406 12 (*interiere tamen*)—409 15 *contristat frigore caelum,* as Me.^{2} was the first to see. Quicherat quoted by L. M. says that the error was noted in MS Paris 7576 (15th century). The four lines omitted in the archetype were filled up in the editions from 1470—Me.^{1} with the words *Phrygia vestis picta est: eius artifices Phrygiones appellantur.* Me.^{2} wrote simply *Phrygiones...hoc Vergilius,* etc. Roth, followed by L. M., writes *Frygiones sunt artifices vestium acu pictarum a Frygibus dicti, quod in Frygia hoc genus artis polleat.* I have preferred to take as a basis the words of Servius A. 9, 611 *vestes acu pictas coloribus Phryges primi invenerunt; nam ideo et artifices talium vestium phrygiones appellati sunt,* supposing that the *lateat hoc* of AX represents *appellati ab hoc.* Leaving out the words *coloribus* and *ideo,* we get rather more than 88 letters (as indeed does Roth) which would make up four lines of the archetype; a line (as may be inferred from p. 17 5) containing about 22 letters. The words of Servius, it may further be urged, suit the order of the instances. 18 *in eodem nono* MSS: L. M. would omit *nono,* and so the edd. to Me.^{2}: *eodem nono* M^2, Gerl., Quich. 19 *frygiae, frigiae, frigis, frygis, friges* MSS. 20 *frygio fui primo* omitted in L^1. The arrangement of the lines (iambic tetrameter catalectic) is Ribbeck's. **beneque id opus** the editions before Ald.^{1} have *bene id opus. benque* L. M. 22 *atque re* MSS. 26 **soliar devigebat** MSS, ed. 1471: *soliar dum urgebat* 1470: *soliar urgebat* edd. 1476, 1480, 1483: *soliarde vigebat* Ald. 1, 2: *soliar defingebat* Turneb. Adv. 17, 21 (p. 526): *solida arte vigebat* Jun.: *soliar depigebat* Me.^{2} from N. Faber: *soliar laevigabat* Scaliger quoted by Me.^{1}: *depingebat* Gyzet, Gronovius, Vahlen, Riese: *defugiebat* L. M. 29 **ineunt** *adeunt* edd. before Ald.^{1} 30 **par pari datum hostimentum est** *datum est ostimentum* Servius (Dan.) A. 4 424: *datum*

hostimentum est MSS of Plautus: *hostimentum datum est* MSS of Nonius here and p. 528. 31 *ostire* V.

4 1 **volutim** *lutim* V, ed. 1471: *volutum* 1470: *volutim* first 1476. 2 *deo hordeo* P^1, *de ×× hordeo* A^1, from which I conjecture *de phordeo* = **de fordeo:** Quintilian 1 4 14 *fordeum faedosque* (*antiqui dicebant*). *De hordeo* MSS of Plautus: *iam iam de hordeo* L. M. 3 **Gallinaria** *Callinaria* L^1. 4 *pontica* $HLPV^2E$: *ponti**ca* F^1V^1: *pontifica* F^3 apparently: *ponticum* ACXDMO: *Sontica* Gulielmus Veris. 2 7: **portentifica** or *portentifera* Ribbeck: *pontificera* (=poisonous) J. H. O. formerly. 5 **Exule** *exule est* (*ẽ*) FHLPVACX. 6 **em dixi iturum hominem in Tuscos tolutim.** *Idem in Macco. Exulem dixi iturum* Ald.^{1,2} better than the preceding edd. *Macco exule, iturum*, Jun. *eduxi iterum hominem* Scal. (marg.) *em dixin iturum* Ribbeck. L. M. would write *tolutim in Tuscos. intus cor* X. 7 **Item** *idem* FHLPVEACX: *item* Ald., Jun. *idem* is bracketed by L. M. 8 **omne** *omnem* HL^1PVE. *inter* H^2PV (*in ras.*) E. *aclive* DMO. *ad me* for *acclive* edd. before Ald.^{1} 9, 10 **idem—tolutim** omitted in C. 10 **velle** *veles.* **et** added by Bouterwek Quaest. Lucil. p. 12. **incepturus** *incessurus* Gul. Ver. 2 7. 11 **trihodite** PVEACX: *triodite* FHL. *trifolio* MSS. **Tripylio** Me. Servius G. 1 34. *Varro...ait se legisse Empedotimo cuidam Syracusano a quadam potestate divina mortalem aspectum detersum, eumque inter cetera tres portas vidisse tresque vias.* ἀρετῆς κτήσεως ἀρετήσεως or ἀρετήσεος MSS ἀρετῆς κτήσεως or κυήσεως Me.^{2} 12 **sed** MSS here, *nam* p. 105 29. **ecus** CX, *aecus* L, *equus* the rest. *tradicitur* F^1. Bücheler and L. M. threw the words into trochaic tetrameters. **magistro** H^2V, the rest *magistra.* 13 **equiso doceat** H^2L^1PVE: *equiso edoceat* apparently F^1: *equis edoceat* $F^2H^1L^2ACX$. 14 *follonis* F^1. 15 **colleatum** *coleatum* L^1 (in p. 182 15 *colleatum*): *cocleatum* FHL^2ACX, *cocleatum* or *codeatum* PE: *clocleatum* V. The readings of the MSS point, I think, to *colleatum = coleatum. coleatus ὁ ἐνόρχας*, Gloss. Lat. Gr., p. 103 28 Goetz. *Coleatum* Turneb. Adv. 17 21 (p. 526); *codicatum* (=long-tailed) Bothe: *coculeatum* Bücheler. *Colleos=culleos* is found in MS A of Cato R. R. 148 1. **ibi** F^3H (*i* in ras.) AC^2V marg. E marg. *ubi* F^1LPVEX, *tibi* C^1. *torror*

X. 18 **aliam** MSS except E, which has *aliquam*. *aliquam rem* edd. from 1470 to Ald., and again Jun. and Me.^{1,2}: *aliquid* Ald.^{1,2}. *aliam* Quich., L. M. *sarcofagum* MSS. 19 **sepulcrum** F^2HL^2P. 20 *accipiat* M. **de sene** *desine* FH^1. 21 **Perii** *peri* MSS. **ausculatur** MO, the rest *osculatur*. Paulus, p. 28 M., *ausculari dicebant antiqui pro osculari*, and edd. from 1470 to Ald. 24 **tu ? tame** *tu, itane* Ald., Jun., Me.^{1}: *tu tam* Me.^{2} *totam* MSS: *tu itane* MSS of Plautus, probably for *tu tame: tame in carmine positum est pro tam*, Festus, p. 360 M. **Acheruntius** *haceruntius* FH, *hacheruntius* LPVE: *acheruntius* ACX: *acherunticus* the MSS of Plautus, and so Carrio Ant. L. 3 13. 25 **id est** *idem* FH^1LVP in ras. V (marg.) ACX, *idest* H^2VE, Carrio Ant. L. 3 13. *Novius* MSS and edd. **Pomponius** Ritschl Parerga Plaut. 134, L. M. Ritschl's arguments are that a *Pappus Praeteritus* of Pomponius is quoted by Nonius, p. 468; and that it is hardly likely that two contemporary writers like Novius and Pomponius would have written plays with the same title. Ribbeck however still keeps Novius. 26 *isto* HLFVACX. *invitavis* MSS: **invitabis** Jun., previous edd. *invitaveris*. 27 **suspendes** *suspendis* MSS, edd. before Jun. *suspendit* Jun., *suspendes* Me.^{2}, Quich., L. M., *suspendis* Gerl. 29 *quem illi cum* MSS., edd. before Jun., Gerl., *quem cum* Jun., Me.^{2}, Quich. **quom illic** L. M

5 4 **pollictori** *pellictori* $H^2L^2P^2V^1E$: *pellectori* $F^3H^{1,3}$, L^1V^2ACX: *pellectori* and *plectori* edd. before Ald., which first has *pollinctori*. *pollictori* Me.^{2} 5 **dicta est** FHLPVACXQ: *id est* DMO. [*dicta*] *a temeto* L. M. *temulenta est ebriosa, dicta a temeto*, Scaliger's *vetus codex*. 6 *attemtet* F^1L. 7 **temeto** *timenti* L^1. 10 **vim** *viam* MSS, edd. 1471—Ald., Gerl. *vim* 1470, Jun., Me.^{1,2}, Quich. *curam* L. M. 11, 12 **Est Modus Matulae** *et modus matula* MSS: *est modus matula* Ald., *est modus matulae* Jun.; comp. Turneb. Adv. 17 21. 13 **heluo** *helio* MSS, *helluo* 1470, *heluo* edd. 1476–83, *vetus codex* of Scaliger. † ΠΙΟΔΕΠΣ *πιοαετις* H^1, *πιοαεπς* F, *πιοδεπς* H^2EP, *πιοαεπ* L, *πιοδεπες* V, *πιοδεπωλ* C, *πεοδεπωα* AX. *Helluo πιὼν δέπας* Jun. "Latere puto compositum nomen cum *πιθο-*, velut *πιθόγαστρος*" Bücheler. *πίνων δέπας* L. M. **olfacit temetum** *colfacite metum* L^1, *colface temetum* L^2, *olfacite metum*

F^1. 15 **Modio** om. H^2PVE. **Tremodiam | amphoramque eadem temeti ac farris modium** *tremodiam* FH^2LPV, *treodiam* ACX, *trimodiam* E. *eadem* P, *eandem* FHLVEACX. *timeti* F^1L^1ACX. *modum* A^1. *a carris* $FH^2LPVECQ$, *a caris* H^1AX. *amphoramque eandem* Ald. Jun. Me.^{1,2}: *amphoram quaerendam* Quich. L. M. *ac farris* Bentinus. *Trímodiam amphorámque eundem témeti ac farrís modum* Bücheler. After *modium* P has a lacuna of one line. 18 σῶμα *coma* L^1 παρὰ τὸ ἄδην κινεῖσθαι τὸ κινεῖν Scaliger's *vetus codex*. For τὸ σῶμα Jun. conj. τὰ κῶλα. 18 **Aulularia** *in Aulularia* L. M. 19 **sum mollior** *submollior* MSS, *submolior* V^1: *submollior* edd. 1470–83, *sum mollior* Ald. **magis quam** *miser magis* B and D of Plautus l. c. *magis quam* MSS of Nonius and Plautus. *mullus* $F^1H^2ELPACX$: **ullus** F^2H^1V, MSS of Plautus edd. *Mollior quam mullus cinaedus* J. H. O. 21 **atque ego** supplied by Scioppius in the text of Plautus l.c. 23 *cantationem* MSS of Plautus. **occupito** FHLPVACX: *occipito* DMO. 24. **id est—posset** om. edd. 1470—1483, with the *codex vetus* of Scaliger: *posset* Me.^{2} 26 Here and in the whole passage the MSS vary between the spellings *cinaedus* and *cinedus*. 27 *demissor* MSS: **demissior** edd.: *demissus pes* L. M. 28 Ἡρωικὸς, ἰωνικός ἡρωικῶς, ἰωνικῶς Turneb. Adv. 27. 29.

6 1 L. M. brackets *dictum*. 2 **Jugurthino** *Jugurtino* FL^1ACXQ, edd. 1470, 1471, L. M.: *Jugurthino* other MSS and edd. Elsewhere, as here, manuscripts vary between *Jugurtinus* and *Jugurthinus*. **Nabdalsa** *Abdalsa* L^1. 4 quoted by Charisius p. 229 K with *exercitis*. **Habet** *Sic habet* Ritschl Opusc. 2. 3391 *nunc habet* J. H. O. **atque** *adque* L^1: *habent* X^1. 5 **II** *secundum* MSS. 6 **conciliis** *concilis* MSS: *conciliis* Ald., *consiliis* previous edd. **et** om. L^1: *ex* ACX. **discidiis** *discidis* V^1: **crebris** *crebis* H^2PVEA. 7 **Afranius** *Afraunius* FH^1. 8 **ita ut huic ero adulescenti †cui suspicium tradidit | qui me est animi exercitus** *aut* L^1: *suspicium* FHLPVAX. 9 *qui me est animi exercitus* MSS, but *exercitur* L^1. *svspirium* Ald. Jun. *Ipsus spiritum Cui tradidit, qui med est animi exercitus* Palm. Spicil. 10 p. 153. *Ita ut huic ero adulescentulo, Cui suspectum* (or *suspectam*) *tradidisti, qui* (or *quae*) *me est animi exercitus* Bothe. *Cui suspicio me tradidit,*

Qui nunc est animi exercitus Ribbeck. *Cui suspicionem tradidi, Et qui* etc. Neukirch ap. Rib. *Cui suspicio Curas dedit, qui misere est a. e.* Bücheler. *Cui supplicium tradidit, Quid me est animi exercitus?* Madvig Adv. 2 653. *suspicium in me tradidit, Qui per mest* etc. L. M., who suggests that *suspicium* may be a neuter form like *exercitium* and others. 11 *nateliacis* L^1. *factis* L^1. 13 *nunc* om. L^1. *transena* F^1. *hic turdus* MSS of Plautus, Ald. Jun. Me.[1] *lubbricum* C^1, *lubricum* the other MSS. **lumbricum** MSS of Plautus. 15 *inlicere* or *illicere* MSS: **inlicire** J. H. O., *Journal of Philology*, l. c. p. 163, on the ground that "*inlicire* is a strictly natural formation (cf. *inretire*) meaning 'to surround with threads, nooses, or springs,' the *linum* of the next line" (so = *inlaqueare*) and "that it restores both metre and sense to the first of the two lines." 16, 17 **Sublimen altos saltus inlicite ubi | bipedes volantes lino linquant lumina** *alis* (*aliis* F^1) *sublimen* (*subumem* L^1) *alios* MSS. 17 *inlicite, inlicitae, illicite, illicitae* MSS. *ubipedes* V^1. *volucres* MSS. *Liquant* FH^1L. *Alis sublimen alios saltus inlice*, ed. 1471: *inlicit* Lipsius Ant. Lect. 5 14. *Maenalios saltus* Me.[2] *Alis sublime in alios* (or *altos*) *saltus inlicit, Ubi bipedes volucres lino linquant lumina* Bücheler ap. Rib. Coroll. p. xii, where other conjectures are mentioned. [*Alias*] *alis Sublime in altos saltus inlicite invios, Ubi*, etc. Ribbeck: *Alis in alios saltus inlicite* [*illico*] L. M. The reading given in the text is that of Onions (*Journal of Philology*, l. c. p. 163). 18 **Pelices** *peliceos* MSS. **inflexam** *infexam* H^1P^1. 19 [**quasi pellex**] [**hoc est ut παλλακίς**] **Quod si hoc non est, vana compositio hominis videri potest** *quasi pallex* H^2, L. M. *ut pellacis* FH^1 *Quod si haec non est vana compositio hominis, coniugis videri potest* Ald. *quod sit* L. For *hominis nominis* Jun. and subsequent edd. The passage is printed in the text in accordance with Onions's suggestion (l. c. p. 164). "Nonius is suggesting two derivations of *pelices*, either from the Greek, *hoc est ut παλλακίς*, or from the Latin, *quasi pellex*, i.e. *vana compositio hominis*. For this use of *vana* cf. Nonius 417. 1, where *vanum* is glossed by *insidiosum, subdolum*. *Hoc est ut pallacis* and *quasi pellex* are two marginal glosses which have found their way into the text, *hoc est ut pallacis* referring to the first, *quasi pellex* to the second deriva-

tion." *Quod si hoc non est, [a pellicendo ducta, nec vana] compositio nominis videri potest* L. M. Perhaps *vana* stands for *Romana.* 21 **mimicis** FH^{1}LPV, Jun.: *inimicis* ACXDOQ^2, edd. 1470—1483: *mimis* Ald. 23 **sopor** ACX, MSS of Plautus, Ald. *soror* the other MSS of Nonius, edd. before Ald. See Spengel *De Canticis Plautinis* 118, and Schöll's *apparatus* in his edition. 25 **calvi** F^{3}H^1, *catui* the other MSS. 25, 26 **similitudine. "Et" Sed quid etc.** *similitudine sedet quid* H^1: in F^3 *et* is added in the margin: *similitudine sed* (or *set*) *quid* the other MSS. *et "sed" etc.* L. M. 30 *iussit* M, **iussi** the other MSS and edd. before Ald., Me.^{2}: *ut iussi* Ald. Jun. Me.^{1} Rib. Quich. L. M. *iussi* J. H. O. (*Journal of Philology* l. c. p. 164) who compares Aen. 7. 156 *festinant iussi.* 31 *extraite* DMO.

7 2 **it** *id* ACX. *inquid* FH^{1}AP^{1}C. **calvitur** *cavitur* L^{1}A^1. *ergo fur dominum* MSS, but *frur* P^1. **endo Ferto manum** Carrio Emend. 2. 12 and edd. since: *endo ferte* L. M. 4 *dolores time* FH^1. 5 *me calvitur* MSS. *ni calvitur* Hermann ap. Ribbeck; Ribbeck and L. M. *nisi me calvitur* Bothe. Perhaps *ne calvitur, ne = ni. suspitio* A. 6 *occultum* DM. 7 *contrulle* or *contrullae* MSS: **contra ille** edd. from 1470. 8 **FRIGUTTIRE** FHLACX: *frigutire* PVEDMO: **FRITINNIRE** H^{2}PVE: *feritinanire* FH^{1}LACX. **sussilire** *sussillire* DMO. 9 **vel erigi et excitari** *exitare* H^1, *exilire* H^{2}PVE, *exagitari* DMO, *excitari* or *exitari* FLA^{1}CA^{2}X. *vel erigi et esilire et excitare* ed. 1470, *vel erigi vel exilire* edd. 1471–83, *vel erigi et excitari* Ald., L. M., *vel erigi et exsilire* Jun. Me.^{2}, Quicherat. *quemcunque* H^1. *fringuntur* F^1: so ed. 1470 has *fringere* and *fringent* l. 7 and 8 above. 10 **sono sussiliunt** *susum sussiliunt* F^{1}H^{2}L^{2}PV: *sususiliunt* AX: *sussussilient* C, *susum* om. F^{3}H^{1}L^{1}EDMO; *sussilliunt* DMO. 12 *cupede* L^1. 13 **fritinnientis** *fritiniensis* MSS, followed by edd. before Jun.: *fritinnientes* Jun. 16 *commutare* or *conmutare* MSS: *commutari* Scal. Ind. Varro. s. v. *fritinnire:* a change perhaps unnecessary. †**frigi** *frigi* MSS, *erigi* Bücheler, Madvig: *erigi animos miserorum* Madv. Adv. 2. 654, who also suggests *tibicinio flectendo* in the previous line for *tibias crebro flectendo.* **Eorum** *Coram* L. M. 17 *deflaccare, flacco* MSS, and so edd. to Ald. *defloccare,* **flocco** Carrio Ant. Lect. 3. 13: *defloccare, flacco* Jun.

19 **Perii: flocco defloccabit iam illic homo lumbos meos.** The Ambrosian palimpsest in Plautus l. c. has, according to Studemund's *apographon, perii f///s// defloccabit iam illic homo lumbos meos.* The MSS here *perii* (or *perit*) *flacco habebit tibi amillic* (*tam illic* or *iam illic*) *h. l. m.* For *flacco habebit* Carrio l. c. read *defloccabit* from Plautus. *flocco habebit tibi iam illic homo l. m.* L. M. *flocco defl.* J. H. O. 20 *deplexum* A^1M. 21 **egone** *ne* om. DMO, and so Umpfenbach in his text, though the Bembine has *egone.* 23, 24 **verum etiam a sariendo** *verum etiam a serendo* (*adserendo* C) MSS: *serendo* edd. 1470–1483, *sarriendo* Ald. Jun. and subsequent edd. *sarire* not *sarrire* is the right spelling: see "Contributions to Latin Lexicography," p. 582. 25 **sartor satorque** $FHL^2PVEDMO$: *sartor sartorque* L^1ACX: *sator sartorque* MSS of Plautus. **maxume** *maxime* ACXDMO. 28 *sarriunt* edd. before L. M.

8 1 περὶ ἀφροδισίων: **Etenim** *afrodisio* (*amphrodisio* P^1) *nec enim* MSS and edd. to 1483: *περὶ ἀφροδισίων nec enim* Ald., *etenim* Jun. *haec enim* Quich. 2 *a me mercedem* Bücheler. **sariat** H^2, *sarriat* H^1 and the other MSS. *seriat* ed. 1470. **cum tuus sim** *cum tussim* FHLPV, edd. 1470–83: *cunctus sim* ACX; *centussim* Ald. Jun. *certus sum* Popma, quoted by Scal. in MS. *cum tuus sim* Acidalius in Com. Plauti Divinationes, p. 23, Me.[3] Quich., Bücheler: *cum tu sis* L. M. 5 *aequa* F^1. *coris* L^1. 6 **nautis** *nauciis* FHLPVQ: *nautis* A^2CXDMO, *nau* A^1, *nautiis* edd. 1470–83, *nautis* Ald.—Quich., *navigiis* L. M. 7 *unguentorum* A. 10 **auscularier** Goetz and Löwe in their text of the play, *osc-* MSS of Plautus and Nonius: but see on p. 4. 21. *osculari* ACXDMO. 11 **inpedimenta** *imp-* F^3HAX, **inplicationes** *impl-* $F^3H^1L^2VACX$. **INTRICARE** H^2A (*in ras.*) DMO: the rest have *intricenare, intricaenare, intrichenare,* or *inticenare. inde intricare* ed. 1470, *et intricenare* ed. 1471 and Me.[2] (in note): *et inde tricinae* edd. 1476, 1480, 1483: *et intricare* Ald. Jun. Me.[1], Quich. **inpedire** L^1, *impedire* the rest. 12 τρίχες Me.[2] τρίχαι edd. 1476, 1480, 1483: *Tricae* Ald. *tericae* Jun. Me.[1] 12 *gallinaceos* L^1, **gallinacios** (*gallinatios* ACX) the rest. 13 **inpediant** FHLPV, *imp-* the rest. **inplicati** L^1, *impl-* the rest. **quas tu** or *quasi tu* MSS: *quas tu* MSS of Plautus: *tu mihi quas* Jun. Me.[1], *quas tu mihi* Me.[2], Quich. *quod tu argen-*

tum, quas mihi tricas Bothe and Ritschl. 16 *opem* C, *exsolvar* A in Plautus: perhaps then *ope* is an addition made to explain *aliqua*, and the true reading is *aliqua exsolvar*. *exiliam* edd. 1470–83; *exsolvam* Ald. and subsequent edd. *extricabo* H^1. 16, 17 **aliqua. Id est** *aliquam inde ex* MSS: *aliqua inde ex* edd. 1470—Ald. *aliqua, id est, ex* Jun. and subsequent edd. 17 **inpedimentis** HL^1. 18 *amore* EHLPV, edd. 1470–83, Ald., Me.^{2}: **amatore** ACX, Jun. Me.^{1}, Quich., L. M. 20 *trichas* F^2H^1LP. *contentiones* C. **maxumas** *maximas* L^1ACX. 23 **eos** *eo* MSS (A has *eo concitius*). *tellanas* MSS, edd. 1471–83, Me.^{2}: *tellenas* ed. 1470, Quich., L. M. *Attellanas* Ald., *Atellanas* J. H. O. Junius Adagia Cent. 5. 68 refers the phrase to the proverb ἄειδε τὰ Τέλληνος; Tellen having been a wretched flute-player of the time of Epaminondas (Zenobius Prov. 1. 45, 2. 15, quoted in Dict. Biogr.). If he is right, the spelling should be *Tellenias*. The phrase *tricae Tellenae* occurs again in Arnobius 5. 28 *tricas quemadmodum dicitur conduplicare Tellenas*. Cato R. R. 8 (quoted by Pliny 15. 72) mentions a *ficus tellana*, a kind of fig with a long stalk (*longo pediculo*). Perhaps this evidence may point to an adjective *telanus* = (1) long like a *telum*, (2) belonging to a web (*tela*). The second meaning would suit the phrase *tricae tellanae* (= the threads of a web). 24 After *Plautus* PVE leave a blank space. The word is omitted in FH^1L^2. Plautus has the word *tricae* Rud. 1323 R, Persa 530, 796, Most. 572, and *intricare* Persa 457. Perhaps Nonius had quoted one or more of these passages. 26 *capperrare* AX, *caperare* F^1. *Caperrare* Gerl. and L. M. This spelling, not *caperare*, is right, being found not only here, but in Paulus, p. 48 M (see Von Ponor), Gloss. Vat., p. 29, Apul. M. 9. 16, and Mart. Capella 5. 509. 27 *quid id illud* A.

9 3 *examinata* A. **coagmentum** *coacmentum* F^1L, *quoagmentum* AC, *quoarmentum* X: *vel coagmentum* om. DMO. 4 **regula** om. L^1. 4 *quem* M, *qua* DO. 5 *inluminunt* C; **inlinunt** L^1AX, *illinunt* the rest. (*rubrica inlinunt* om. DMO.) 6 *haec amussim* (*amusim* H) MSS, edd. 1471–1483, J. H. O.; **examussim** MSS of Plautus Amph. l. c., Charisius, p. 198, 24: Paulus p. 80 M., Placidus pp. 12, 37; Gloss. Hessels E 471, Lat. Gr. 63, 47 G. (see commentary): edd. 1470, Jun. Me. Quich.

L. M. *haec examussim* Ald. 8 *emussitate* X, *emusitata* A. **emussitata** MSS of Plautus l. c. (see commentary). *amussitate* ed. 1470, *amussitata* edd. 1471–83, Quich. *emussitata* Ald. Jun., Me., L. M. *ingenia* L^1. 12 **diligens** *diu gens* MSS, edd. 1470—Ald. *id ingens* Jun. "*fortasse dia gens*" $Me.^1$ (manuscript note in margin), Quich. *diligens* Badius (MS note) ap. Quich., Bücheler: *dium genus* Palm. Spicil. 1, p. 148, *dium gens* L. M. **adsumas** *assumas* FHL^2C, *ads-* the rest: *adsumes* V, edd. 1471–83. *tene οαιακον* FH^1L, *teneo διακον* H^2PVEAC^2, *διαcκον* C^1: *idem οἰάκων* Ald., *teneo μακράν* Jun., *γενεθλιακόν* Bentley Ter. Hec. 1. 2. 88 and edd. subsequently. 13 *amusis* F^1L. 13, 14 **aequamen, levamentum** edd. to 1483, $Me.^2$, Jun. in margin, and subsequent edd. *aequamentum levigatum* Ald., Jun. in text, $Me.^1$ 14 **apud** *aput* L^1. **utuntur** *utantur* FH^1P^1L. 15 **coagmentata** or *coacmentata* MSS, edd. to 1483, $Me.^2$, Quich. *coaequanda* Ald., Jun. (text), $Me.^1$: *coagmentanda* Jun. (margin). 15 L. M. thinks that the missing quotation from Plautus may have been Mil. Glor., 664 R. *quam mutumst mare*, thus belonging to the next gloss. 16 **MUTTVS** *mutus* MSS, *muttus* (? *muttum* ?) H. N., from Gloss. Lat. Gr., p. 132, 2 G. *muttum γρῦ*: comp. Gloss. Gr. Lat., p. 265, 20 *γρύζω muttio*. *onomato poeia* H^2V, *onomato poeta* or *poetia* the rest. *onomapoeia* L. M., *voces* FH^1LPVE. 17 **mutus sonus** *mutu sonus* A^1CX, *mutos sonus* L^1, *mutus sonus* the rest. Goth. conj. *mutitus* or *mu* for *mutus*: and *mu* is adopted by Quich. and L. M., who also suggests *mut* (comp. *mutmut* quoted from Apuleius by Charisius, p. 240, 28). *mutum* or *muttum* J. H. O., *μῦθος* Lindsay: but no change is required, the adj. *mutus* meaning 'unintelligible' or 'indistinct' as well as 'dumb'. 18 *ducito* A, **ducite** the rest. 19 *eo tum* MSS, and so edd. 1470, 1476, 1480, 1483: *tamen* for *tum* ed. 1471, *cum* Ald. and subsequent edd. 21 *ad mestitiam* (*maestitiam* E) or *mesticiam* MSS. *itum ad m.* Bothe, *item ac m.* Schöll ap. Quich. and L. M. *mutuam* MSS, Ald., *mutam* edd. 1470—83, etc. *infantium* $FHLPVA^2CX^2$: *infanc**um* A^1, *infant*um* P^1, **infantum** X^1. 22 **pinnis** $F^3H^1L^1$, *pennis* the rest. 24 **lubet** *iubet* A^1DMO. **distendite** MSS: MSS of Plautus l.c., edd. 1470—$Me.^2$: *distennite* Meursius Exerc. Crit. 1, p. 167, quoting Donatus on Ter. Ph. 2.

2, '*tenditur*,' *legitur et* '*tennitur*' : so Goetz in Plautus l.c. and L. M. here. 25 **ut** om. L^1.

10 1 *persit* H^1. *ad aedes* (*ad aede* X^2) MSS. *fumat* A^1. 3 **vi propria et ingenio** *vi praepostera et ingenio* Ald. Jun. (who has *propria* in the margin): MSS and other edd. *vi propria.* Quich. followed by L. M. omits *et* before *ingenio*: but may not *ingenio* = in its nature? 3, 4 βαρδεῖς **tardos** *bardos tardos* MSS, edd. to Ald., Me.^{2}, L. M. *βραδεῖς tardos* Ald., Jun., Me^1., Quich. *βαρδεῖς* Scal. MSS. 'ex Festo' : comp. Paulus, p. 34 M., [*bardus*], *quod illi βαρδύς dicunt.* 8 **tandem me quidem** *tandem equidem* MSS, edd. to Ald., Me.^{2}: *nimis tandem me quidem* MSS of Plautus, Jun., Me.^{1}, Quich., L. M. If the line, as Spengel thinks, is an anapaestic tetrameter, *rustica* is metrically awkward: Onions therefore proposed *blenna.* Perhaps *rulla* may be right, as Usener has suggested. 10 *illex* FHL^2, *ilex* PVE, **inlex** the rest. *quis sine* L^1. *vivat* $FHLPVA^1CX$, **vivit** the rest. *impure* L^2DVX, **inpure** the rest. 11 **inhoneste** *-tae* L^1. **inlex** ACX, *illex* the rest (*il**lex* F^1). Between *inlex* and *labos* the MSS insert the whole of the article on *toralium* : and so ed. 1470; in ed. 1471 and subsequent edd. it is put after that on *lurcones.* **popli** F^3H^1LAC, Quich., L. M., *populi* the other MSS, edd. to Me.^{2} 13 **vincas** *vinca** P^1, *vincat* the rest. *vivat* L. M., *vacus* FH^1LACX. 15 **sciamachia** *sciomantia* edd. 1471—83. 16 *quero* L^1A. 17 **vivis** edd. to Jun., Me.^{2}, L. M., *vives* Jun., Me.^{1}, Quich. 19 *reges* L. M. without sufficient reason. 20 **Harpazomene** *arpazomene* ACX, *sarpazomene* the rest; *Sarpasomene* edd. 1470—83; *ἁρπαζομένῃ* Ald. Ἁρπαζομένῳ Charis. p. 144 K. 21 *cum indomitis moribus* MSS, **indomitis cum moribus** Ribbeck. 22 **inlitterate** L^1ACX, *illitterate* or *illiterate* the rest. **inlex** L^1ACX, *illex* (*ilex* V) the rest for *es, hes* L^2, *hisunt* A. **es** Ribbeck omits, and is followed by L. M. But *inlitterate* may be the adverb. 25 *exlegem ullam* (*ulam* C) MSS except L^1, which has *unam.* 26 *putarunt* MSS : *abtectam* L. Me.^{2} is the first editor who introduced *Sullam...putarent* from Cicero. 27 *luchrones* A^1, *lurchones* A^2CX, **lurcones** the rest (*lubracones* L^1, *luracones* H, P marg., E marg.). *lurchando* F^1LEACX. *lurchare* $F^1H^1LPVEACX$. Servius Aen. 6. 4, *contra 'thus' et*

'*orchus*' *veteres dicebant et* '*lurcho*', *i.e. vorax, quibus sequens aetas detraxit aspirationem*: Plotius Sacerdos, p. 491 K. *neque post c litteram h latina verba regit, exceptis tribus nominibus, pulcher Orchus lurcho.* Ib. p. 475 *lurcho* (= Probus Cath. p. 10 K.). *Lurco* Acta Arvalium of A.D. 58 (Wilmanns Exempla Inscr. Lat. ii. p. 280), Paul. p. 120, Gloss. Hessels L 275: *Lurcho* MSS of Varro R. R. 3, 6, 1.

11 1 **moetino** MSS, Jun. and subsequent edd. *Metino* edd. 1470—83, *Mutio* Ald. **subrecto** *subiecto* MSS. and edd. *subrecto* F. Dousa in his Lucilius, and L. M. *parum* L^1 for **fartim**: *fartim parum* $F^1H^2L^2PVE$, Ald.; Turnebus Adv. 17 23 wrote *patrum* for *parum* and *furtim* for *fartim*, in which he was followed by Jun. and Me.[1] '*Parum*', *aut quod in manuscriptis est* '*partim*,' *abundare videtur*, Jun. *Fartim Parum* **conficeret** Me.[2] 4 **nullum utebatur** first Me^2 from the MSS: *nullus vescebatur* Gul. Verisim. 1 14, *nullum vescebatur* Ald. *lurchabat* H^1 (*lurchabar*) FLPVE. 6 *perennis herbae* MSS, **perenniserve** MSS of Plautus. 11 **ac strepis** *at strepis* MSS: Jun., *astrepis* edd. 1470—83, *adstrepis* Ald. Me.[1,2]: *ac strepis* Gerlach, followed by Quich. L. M. 12 *torialius et* MSS, except DMO, which omit the words: ed. 1471 then *torialium* FHLPV: *toralium* DMOACX: *torialum et torialium designator est* edd. 1470, 76, 80, 83; *toral et torialium stragulum est*, Ald. Jun. Me.[1]; *toral ab herba torta dictum esse designator est* Me.[2]; *toral et toralium* [*dici stragulum*] *designator est* Quich.: *tororum et toralium designator est* L. M.: *toralium* [*proprietatis*] J. H. O. L. M. is probably right: Gloss. Lat. Gr. p. 199, 42 *torus* στρώμνη: ib. 5 *torale* περίκλινον. (See commentary.) 12 *lib.* XII A. 13 **quod fronde lecticas struebant** *quod frontem lectica est* HLPVACX: *ruebant* $F^3HPVECX$: *struerant* F^1L: *quod frontem lecticae struebant*, edd. 1470 to $Me.^2$; *quod frondem lecticae struebant* Quich.: *quod fronde lecticae struebantur*, L. M.: *quod fronde lecticas struebant*, Madv. Adv. 2, p. 654, nearly anticipated by Goth., *quod fronde lecticam*: *quo frontem lecticae struebant*, J. H. O. ea *eo* L. M. **herba torta torum** *herba tormentorium* F^1: *torium* LP^2E: **etiam nunc** Quich. L. M.: *et nunc* edd. 1471—Ald. *etiam num*, Jun. Me. 15 **qui** *quae* Jun. 17 **pseudolo** *pseudolocus* FH^1, *pseudolo*

cui H^2PVE; **Dum concenturio** *centurio* V: *ccenturio* L, *concenturio* FHPE; *dum concenturio* MSS of Plautus, *cui centurio*, edd. 1470—83; *concenturio* Ald. Jun. Me., *cum concenturio*, Quich. L. M. *sycophantia* or *sycofantia est* HEFLPV. 20 **in insidiis hic ero** MSS of Terence, l.c.: *in insidiis ero*, MSS of Nonius: *ero* F^3H^1, omitted in the rest, *in insidiis hic ero*, Ald. first. 21 **deficies** MSS of Nonius, and of Terence except the Bembine: *deficias* Bembine of Terence, Prisc. De Fig. Numerorum, p. 417 K., Bentley, Umpfenbach. 22 *arimensores*, L^1. **dicti** bracketed by L. M. 23 *viderent* L^1. 25 *regi* H^1. *ei rei* MSS of Plautus, *eius rei* MSS of Nonius: *eius re* Quich. L. M. ego. **sum factus finitor** MSS of Nonius and Plautus, and so Lambinus in Plautus. Muretus Var. Lect. 17 14 proposes *ego finitor factus sum*, and so edd. of Nonius; but Lambinus was probably right, as *finitor* may be derived not from *finire* but from *finis*, and have followed the analogy of *ianĭtor, holĭtor, portĭtor, vinĭtor, fundĭtor.* 28, 29 *quod serugis* L. 29 **inplicata** L^1.

12 1 **siquidem es tu mecum** *si quid ea* (*e** F^1) *estumecum* F^3HLVE: *si quid aestumecum* P, *siquiden tu es mecum* AB in Plautus. *una* F^3H^1. *pensili* MSS of Nonius: *pensilis* A, *pensibis* B in Plautus. 2 **XVIIII** F^3HPVE, edd. 1470—83, Me.^{2} Quich. L. M.; VIIII F^1L, Ald. Jun. Me.^{1} 4 *expes* F^2L^2PVEX: *exspes* F^1HL^1ACDMO. 5 **orbus, expes** *orb* (i.e. *orbus*) V, Ald. and subsequent edd.: *orbis* FHLPE, edd. 1470—83: *expes* FHL^2PVE: *exspes* L^1. 7 *exuli* FHLPV, edd. 1470—Ald.: **exul** Jun. and subsequent edd. **desertus, vagus** first inserted by Ald. 8 *exsules* A. 9 *exolat* L^1, L. M.; *exulat* MSS of Vergil. 12 *quod vestem spiceret.* 13 **vestis inspiciant** *vestes* H^2P^2: *spiriant* L. M. from Varro L. L. 7. 14 *dicitur* F^1. 15 **vestispici** *vestispicium* F^1H^1 *vestispica* A in Plaut. *vestiplicae* BCD there. *au, aut* P^1 and P^2. 17 **inscitulam** *insciturам* and *instituram* MSS; *inscitulam* Gulielm. Plautin. Quaest., p. 128: *insciam* edd. 1470—1483; *inscitam* Gothofred. 18 **ancillulam vestrae erae vestispicam** *ancillulam* FH^2LPVE, *ancillunam* H^1: *ancillulam unam*, J. H. O., L. M. *vespere et vespispicam* FH^2LPVE, edd. from 1483 to Quich.: *vestiplicam et vestispicam*, Bothe:

vestrae erae et vestispicam, Bücheler ap. Rib.: *vestrae hic erae* Rib. who mentions other conjectures; *vesperei here,* L. M. 19 **ideo** *aut indige nasturcium,* F^3H^2PVE, *indie* H^1; *aut indige et,* ed. 1470; *aut indigitamentis* edd. 1476, 1480, 1483, Ald. Jun. Me.^{1}; *aut Indice* Me.^{2} (note), Bücheler; *aut Indigena,* Oehler. The words *Varro—vestispicam* are omitted by F^1L. *Nasturcium indige non invides in eo* F^3HPVE: *non invides,* edd. 1471—1483: *nonne vides,* Ald. Me.^{1,2}, Quich., Bücheler; *nasturcium, indigena, non vides?* Oehler: for *in eo ab eo* Jun., *ideo* Oehler, Bücheler: *nasturcium non vides* L. M. Perhaps the true reading is *nasturtium indigeno nomine vides* etc.; though I admit that *indigenus* is only quoted from Apuleius. 20 **ut vestispicam** F^3H^1; the rest omit *ut.* 21 **SUBPILARE** L^1AC: *supplicare* MO: *suppilare* the rest. *inde* H^1. 23 **conpilare** or *compilari* the MSS, except O which has *conpilare,* and P^2 which has *compilares. compilati* edd. from 1470 to L. M. 23 I follow Schöll in the arrangement of the words. *susfuror* BD in Plautus. 26 **subpilat vestem aurum** *subpilatum* or *suppilatum est eum* MSS: for *eum* Bothe conj. *aurum,* from Plaut. Mil. 1147 R. *aurum atque ornamenta: aurum atque argentum atque ornamenta,* Maehly ap. Rib.: *aurum vestis a. o.* Rib. *subpilat vestem aurum* etc. J. H. O. *Journal of Philology,* l. c.

13 alter amat potat *alteram apportat* or *adportat* MSS, edd. 1470 to Me.^{1}: *alter amat potat* Gulielm. Verisim. 1 16, Me.^{2} and subsequent edd. 3 **AVSTRA** *haustra* APMO. **cadi** MSS, edd. 1471 to Quicherat: *radii* ed. 1470, Madv. Adv. 2 p. 654, L. M. But see Munro on Lucr. l.c., who quotes Vitruv. 10 5 (10) to show that the *cadi* (or modioli as Vitruv. calls them) are "scoops or basins attached to the wheel to lift up the running water." **hauriendo** A^2M: *auriendo* (*audiendo* C) the rest. 4 *gretaceant tlia* F^3H^1L. L. M. suggests *graeca* for *graece* of the other MSS. Perhaps the reading of F^3 etc. may represent *sicuti graece ab ἀντλεῖν ἀντλία. sicuti...ἀντλία* om. ACX. 5 *austra* MSS, and so MSS of Lucr. l. c. *vidimus* FL. 6 *veliterina* A: *vecterina* ed. 1470, 1471; is the original form of the word *vectrinus?* 8 *parturiendi* FHLPV, edd. before Ald. 10 *torte* for **ne forte**

FHLPV: *idem torte* or *torto* (*id certe* ed. 1470) edd. before Me.^{2}, who restored *ne forte homine veterino* FHLPV. *quorum* MSS except F^3H^1, edd. before Junius. 11 *creperare* A^1. 12 *dicuntur in dubio* A. 13 *creperum...dubium* is bracketed by L. M. 16 *conperi* L^1: *comperi* the rest. **quae ego cuncta esse fluxa** *quaé ego cuncta flúxa esse* Bücheler ap. Rib. *quae ego cúncta fluxa in med. r. c. c.* Bothe. 18 *núnc tu in re creperá tua quid cónsili capiás vide*, Bothe: so L. M., with the change of *tu* to *tute*. *Nunc tu ín re crepera víde quid capias cónsili*, Luchs ap. L. M. *consilii* FHLPV. 21 *sannunt solis mihi in magno maerore* MSS: *sane tu solus magno in maerore metuque* Ianus Dousa quoted by Scalig. MS: *Samni sole* Scaliger MS. *Set nunc solus mihi* L. M. 22 *summo crepera inventus* FHLPV: *crepera re*, Lachmann: **salutis** *saluti's*, Lachmann. Other conjectures on this desperate passage are mentioned by Quich. 24 **non** om. H^1. **vetet** MSS: *decet* Scalig. MS, Lachmann: *aegritudinem* FHPV, ed. 1470, 1471: **aegritudine** edd. 1480, 1483, Jun. 25 L. M. omits *in*. 27 **potet una atque una** *potest unam atque unam* HLPVE: *potest una a-una* edd. 1470, 1471: *potet una atque una* F^3 with the best MSS of Plautus, edd. 1476—83, Ald. Jun. *una atque unam* EIL in Plautus, so Fleckeisen there and Me^2 here. **ductet** *ducit et* H^1L^1, *ductitet* $F^3H^2L^2PVE$, *duc*et* F^1: *ductet* MSS of Plautus.

14 2 *orrida* H^1: *horrideis* L. M. 3 **oracla** *ora clam* FHLPV: *oracula* edd. 1470—83, Quich.: *oracla* Ald. Jun. Me.^{1,2}, L. M.: *oracla...crepera* L. M. 5 *manifestor* V. **lib. vi.** v FHLPV, edd. 1471—83: VI Junius. 6 **quod** *quo* Lachmann. *nomen* H^2. **a re** FHLPV, edd. 1471 to Me.^{2}: L. M.: *ab re* MSS of Lucr., edd. 1470, Quich. 7 *inpositum* L^1, *imp.* the rest. 11 **eodem** *eo* MSS, edd. 1470—76, Ald. to Quich.: *eodem* edd. 1480—83, L. M. 12 *villae* L^1: *impune* FNL^2. 13 **pinnis** $F^3H^1L^1$, *pennis* the rest. **alitus** MSS of Nonius, *halitus* the ancient MSS of Verg. l. c. 19 **decoratas** *decoratus* FH^2LPV: *decoratis* H^1. *pennis decoratos* ed. 1476, Quich.; *poenis decoratos* edd. 1470, 1473, Jun. Me.^{1,2}, Rib. *poenis laceratos* L. M. 20 *exterris* P^1. 22 Scaliger and Hermann ap. L. M. would scan the line as anapaestic. L. M.

supposes some word such as *iactor* to have fallen out at the end of the line. 24 **possum** *possunt* FHLPV: *possum* Scal. MS, Me.^{2} *possum, ita Huius* etc. Bothe: *possumus, Ita huius* etc. L. M. 25 **ac** *atque* FHLPV; *ac* edd. 1470—83: *inscitia atque* Ald. Jun. Me.^{1,2}, but *inscientia* Jun. in margin. 27 **ecfecit** F, *et fecit* H^{1}L: *effecit* H^{2}PVE.

15 2 *complexu* MSS of Verg. l. c. 3 *explena* L^{1}. *ex quae* ACOX, *et ex quae* M. 4 **nodis** *nobis* P. *nodum* edd. to Ald., which has *nodis. exsolvo* L^{1}P. L. M. brackets as a gloss the words *hoc est...exsolve,* and so J. H. O. 5 **tu autem quod quaero abs te** all but F^{1}L, which omit *abs te. tu autem quod quaero enoda* Rib., *tu abs te q. q. e.* L. M. **qui sis** F^{3}HVE: *qua sis* L^{1}: *quae sit* F^{1}L^{2}: *quis sit* P. 7 **quid tam obscuridicum est tamve inecnodabile** *quid tam* F^{3}H^{1}: *qui tam* F^{1}: *qui itam* L: *quid itam* H^{2}PVE. *obscuridicunt* FHLPV. *inetnodabile* P^{1}. The first successful attempt to deal with the passage is that of Me.^{2}, *quid tam obscuridicum est tamve inenodabile,* which is adopted by Quich. and J. H. O.: *quid ita? tamne obscure dictum est tamve i.* Bothe^{2}, L. M. *nam quid hic tam obscure dictum est* etc. Rib. 9 *laeto* FHLPV. 10 **haec** *hoc* edd. 1470—83, *haec* Ald. 13 *periboe agnito* L^{1}. *gna*to* P^{1}, edd. 1471—Me.^{2}, *gnatus* ed. 1470: *gnate ordinem omnem ut dederit enoda patri* conj. Me.^{2}: for *ut dederit, ut ut erit* Palmier ap. Rib., who mentions other conjectures. Perhaps *ut se dedit. inodat* L^{1}. **pater**] F^{3}H^{1}: *patri* F^{1}H^{2}LPV. *gnate ordinem omnem, ut ut erat, enoda patri* L. M. 16 *sint* FH^{1}L. *huius aetati* first ed. 1476: *eius* Ald. Jun. *vos ignoscetis. Huius enim aetati servire debemus* MSS of Cic. l. c. 17 **ita ut in** F^{3}HPE: *ut in ita* V: *ut in* om. F^{1}L. Me.^{2} was the first editor who perceived the right reading. 20 L. M. brackets *dictus.* **GRUMMUS** *crummus, crummum* (in the next line) L^{1}. 22 *torris* H^{2}PV, and edd. to Me.^{2}: *torrus* the other MSS and Quich. *toridare* P. *conburere* A. 24 **erit** Bücheler ap. Rib. conj. *aderit: escit* L. M. **hic**] *hice* Rib. L. M. *O regina erit* once Bergk. See Rib. *torris* H^{2}, *torus* P^{1}. 25 **idem** om. F^{1}LP. 26 **Tum suae vitae finem ac fatis internecionem fore** *eum suum v. f. ac fati i. f.* FHLPV: *suae* edd. 1470—83, L. M., *suum* Ald. to Quich.

ac fati edd. 1470—Quich.: *ac fatis* Bücheler, Rib., *aetatis* L. M. 27 *Maleagro* H^2V: *Maleago* FH^1LPE. *ubi* om. F^1L. *ubi ubi* L. M.: **ubi torrus fuisset** (for *esset*) J. H. O. *torris* H^2.

16 3 *aflictum* L^1, *affl-* the rest. *exanimum* Nic. Faber ap. Dousa (marg.) and Rib. 4 *epigono* FHLPV, edd. to Me.^{2}; **Epigonis** Quich., Rib. *Erigona* L. M. 5 **eloquere** MSS and edd.; *loquere* Bücheler and L. M., who scans the line as cretic. **proprié** (*propriaé* L) the MSS, and edd. to Ald. *propere* Jun., *pavore* L. 7 *mihi* MSS. *ex animo* Jun. Me.^{2}, but Jun. has *exanimato* in the margin. 8 **haruspices** ACXD, *hauruspices* MO, *aruspices* or *aruspicis* the rest. **spiciunt** P^1, *spiciant* FH^2LP^2VCDMO: *aspiciunt* F^3H^1, *spiciantur* AX. 10 *extispicium* FHLPE, *extispitium* V: **extispicum** Scalig. Conj. p. 107. *prodiis* P. 11 **ait consulem** Jun. for *te consulem* of edd. 1471—Ald. *pelum* FLPVE, *perum* H^1. *pilum* Jun.—Quich., *imperium* Oehler, *imperio* L. M., *in templum* Bücheler. Perhaps *sellam.* 12 **et hostias et extis picis disputantis** *et hostia sed* FHLPV and edd. 1471—Ald. *disputanti* FHLPV. *extispici disputanti* edd. 1470—Ald. *hostias extispici disputanti* Jun. Me.^{1} *et hostias et extispices disputantes* Me.^{2} 13 *mulcere* H^2 (marg.) Ald. Jun. Me.^{1} Quich. L. M. **vellere decipere** *velle decipere* Bentin., Quich. *vel decipere* L. M. 14 **nisi ut astu ingenium lingua laudem** *nisis* L. **lingua laudem** first Ald., *ludam* L. M., *ductis* P. *nisi ut astu ingenii fingam, laudem* Scalig. Conj. p. 107. 17 *celius* FHLPV: **Caecilius** ed. 1470, Bentin., Jun. *hipobolimea rastraria* MSS (*scipobolimea* H^1): so nearly edd. 1470—1483: so Scalig. Castig. in Festum p. cxv. **Hypobolimaeo rastraria** Jun. and subsequent edd. (see p. 40), but L. M. punctuates *Hypobolimaeo, Rastraria.* See Ribbeck, who thinks that the play had three titles, *Hypobolimaeus Rastraria, Hypobolimaeus* or *Subditivus, Hypobolimaeus Chaerestratus.* He mentions a view of Granert's, that *Rastraria* is a separate title. 18 **prolubium** *proluvium* F^2H^1, Jun., Me.^{1}: *proludium* edd. 1470, 1476, 1480, 1483: *prolubium* ed. 1471, Ald. Me.^{2} and subsequent edd. 19 **alcimeone** H^1, edd. 1471—1483: *Alcmaeone* ed. 1470, Ald. and subsequent edd. except L. M. 20 **tanta** *fata*

Bücheler, Rib.; *tantum* Voss ap. Rib., L. M. *frustando* FH¹. **vanans** *vanas* edd. 1471—1483, *vanam* Ald., *vanans* Jun. See p. 184 1. 22 **delectet** *delectet et* HLPV, edd. 1470—Ald., Me.²: *et* om. Jun. Me.¹ and the other edd. 24 **laetans** F¹HLPVE (*letans* V), *lactans* F². Edd. down to Me.¹ had *lactas, lactaris,* or *lactans*: *laetans* Muretus ap. Me.² 25 For *iactatio* I would read *lactatio,* see "Contributions to Latin Lexicography" p. 512. 27 **SUCCUSSARE** FH²LPV, *succusare* H¹ACDMOX. *sursum* L². *nec succusset* FHLPV Ald. *ne* edd. 1470—1483, Jun., *nei* L. M. *succuset* L¹. 28 **III** F³H¹, L. M., IIII F¹H²LPV, edd. before L. M., who however reads II on p. 86. 29 **succussatoris** FHL²PV, *succusatoris* L¹. *tardirari* FHLP²V, *tra*dirari* P¹. *tardi rarique* edd. 1470—Ald., Me.²: **tetri tardique** Jun. from p. 86, Me.¹ 31 Quoted by Gellius 1 16 10. *sequenter* P.

17 1 **adside** L¹, *asside* the rest. **alia** *aliea* P¹; *aliqua* Rib. *strenae strenue* FHLPV; **strena strenue** for *strena strene* or *strenae* of former edd. Bentin. *strena strenuae* Passerat. ap. Quich. 2 *adulatio est* * * * *landimentum* F, the lacuna extending to half a line. *blandimentum est* (*adulatio* omitted) A¹C. *ad* om. ACX. *omnes* L¹, *omines* L². 4 After *lib.* II PE have a *lacuna* of two lines: V has a marginal note *hic desunt duae lineae quae in autentico non erant scriptae*: H³ also has a similar note *deest aliquid.* The words *fida—adulatio* were first added from Cicero by Bentin. 5 *assentatoribus* FHL²P²V, *ads-* L¹, *asentoribus* P¹. 6 *nec* for *neve* the MSS of Cicero l.c. **gannitu vocis** *cannit* PVE, *canit* FHL: *canis* edd. 1470, 1476—Ald., *canit vocis* ed. 1471, *gannitu vocis* Jun. *adulat* FHLPV. 9 *tui mei volans* FHLPV, and edd. 1471, 1476, 1480, Ald. *sublime advolans* Bentin. from Cic.: so Jun. and Me.¹: Me.² suggests in his note **sublime avolans** as Nonius' reading, and so before him Turnebus Adv. 2 9. *sublime involans* Quich. *tum avolans* L. M. *avolans* MSS of Cicero l.c. 10 **pinnata** F³H¹L¹, *pennata* F¹H²L²PV. *adolat* L.¹ 11 *qui et manduci* edd. 1471, 1476, 1480, 1483, Jun. Me. Quich. L. M.: **qui manduci** MSS, edd. 1470, Ald. *qui—sunt* suspected by J. H. O. 12 *pistoribus* Jun. Me.¹, **pictoribus** V¹ and the other edd. 13 **magnus manducus**

camillus cantherius *camillus* MSS; *magnus camillus, manducus, canterius* Jun. Me.[1]: *camellus* Turneb. Adv. 17 23: *mágnus manducó camellus...canterius* Rib. *manduco's* L. M. *casmillus* Quich. L. M. 16 *vimargo* FH[2]LPV: **Bimarco** was first conj. by Turnebus Adv. 17 24. 17 *ut Fremescat* FH[2]LPV. *Varro—gulae* om. H[1]. *ut* edd. before Quich. **uti** Meineke ap. L. M. since adopted by edd. 17 **Senica** MSS. 19 **hic in †medio† habitat** *hic in medio habitat* FHLPE, *hic medio* V, edd. 1471—1483, Jun. Me.: *in medio habitat* Ald. Quich. *mendicus habitat* Rib., *in cavaedio h.* Zangemeister ap. L. M.; *aedes inhabitat* L. M. **Seneca** FHLPV. **sescunciae** *sescuntiae* F[1] (*sescuntie* F[2]) H[1]L, *sescuntia* H[2]PVE. *sescuntiae* Turneb. Adv. 17 23. 21 *set* L[1]. *sed me sed* V. **senica** MSS. 22 *cradurius* L[1]; *gradirius* C. *succusatura* A. 24 For **ipse** L. M. suggests *iste.* **ecus** FL, *equus* (*aequus* H[1]) the rest. **formonsus** L[1]P. *victor* FHLPV: **vector** ed. 1470, Bentin., Jun. marg., Me.[2]: *victor* edd. 1471—Ald., Jun., Me.[1] 27 **temerius quam tu** *te medius quam tute* FHLPV (*quantu te* P[1]) *An qui gradu tolutili Te mediis campis molliter vectus cito Relinquat* Me.[2] (in note). *te medium usque agmen* Riese. *equi gradu tolutili Timidi usque tuti molliter vectus cito Relinquet* Bücheler. *an qui gradu relinquat te tolutili Melius quam tute molliter vectus cito* L. M. 28 *exdorsuare est* M, *dorsum* O, *dorsu* X. 29 **macherio** F[3], *macerio* F[1]HLVE, *mecerio* P. 30 *merenam* F[1]L. **potest** FH[1]LP[1], MSS of Plautus, Quich., L. M. *potes* edd. 1470—Me.[2] 31 *delilare* H[1], *delerare* V[2]. *ricta* L[1]: perhaps then *recta*, not *recto* is right. *recedere* edd. 1470—Quich. **decedere** L. M. *decreto decedere* Jun. marg. 32 *in quam mugilo* F[1]L. *decurrit* A[2], L. M. **decurrat** the rest, and Isid. 10 78.

18 2 *sum* om. FH[1]L: **sum in tuto** from the other MSS, Rib. Quich. L. M. 3 *numquis* L[1], **nunquis** FHL[2]PV. **restat** *resistit* FHLPV, edd. 1470—Me.[2]: *numquis hic restat* Bothe, L. M., *restet* Quich. *nunqui hic restitat* Rib., *lilarit* L[1], *lerarit* V[2]. 4 *libro xxvi* edd. 1476—Quich. L. M. omits *libro. delero* V[2], *delibro* P. 5 *cupidi* FHLPVQ, edd. 1470—Ald. **cupide** Jun. and subsequent edd. **fungo** FH[2]L: *fungor* (*fugor* P) FH[1]LP. *ruberum* is not explained. *liberum* ed.

1470, Me.^{2} in note; *tuberum* Dousa, *ruderum* Jun., L. M., *suberum* Quich.; and other conjectures have been made. 8 *copioso* H^1; *accenturiis* A. 10 *at te* L^1. *petunt* edd. 1470—1483, **petent** Ald. and subsequent edd. 11 *simitur* L, *imittitur* F^1, perhaps rightly. 13 *cui* for **qui** P^2. *impleam* PV, **inpleam** the rest. 14 **RVDVS** 'fortasse *raudus*' L. M. The word is so spelt in Val. Max. 5 6 3, Varro L. L. 5 § 163, Paul. p. 275. 15, 16 *vim sternenda et* FHLPVG: *viam* for *vim* Ald., *sternendam* ed. 1470. *viam sternendam* Jun. in margin: *viai sternendae* Me.^{2} note: **viai sternendai** L. M. *agerem* FLPE: *agger* H. 17 *radendo* MSS, edd. 1470—Me.^{1}, Quich. *ruendo* Me.^{2}, L. M. Perhaps *rutando*. 18 *hic* P^1. *illum* FH^{1}LPVQ, edd. 1470—Ald. *illinc* Jun., **illim** H^2, Me.^{2} from Gifanius. *profectu's* Rib. *redisti* FHLPV, Ald. **rediisti** Bothe. 20 *frumentarium* P. *frumentarius em* L. M. *atque et rutellum* FHLPVE (*adque* L^1), Ald. **atque rutellum** edd. 1471—83, Bentin. 21 **una** *unum* FHL, Ald., Jun. Me.^{1}: *unam* PVE, ed. 1471: *una* edd. 1470, 1476—1483, Me^2 and subsequent edd. **adfert** F^{1}L^1, *affert* the rest. 22 *die nos lemmatos* FHLV, *dienos lemmato* P, *dienos lemmatos* E. *logo santi patri* P, *logo santipatri* E, *lego santi patri* V: *sancti patri* edd. 1470—1483: *logos antipatri* FHL, Ald. *ut* λόγος Madv. Adv. 2 p. 654, L. M. 23 *rutru* V. *capud* H^1. 24 *qui a mendaciis* H^1, *quia mendaciis* F^{1}P, **qui mendaciis** F^{3}H^{2}LV. 25 *obiciebant* L. M. *ad fugam fugitivis* FHLPACX, and edd. before Quich. *fugitivis* om. DMO, Quich. Perhaps *aut fugitivi, quibus ad fugam et furta* etc. 26 *erunt* M. **adcommodata** L^{1}A, *acc-* the rest. *et vilia* A. After *utilia* L. M. inserts the words *quod Homerus — ἀμείνω*. 27 *pertesunt* FHLPV. *pauperem* FHLP^{2}V, *pauperum* P^1. *quem propter te sivi pauperem* Me.^{2} *quem pertaesum est pauperum* Bothe, Quich. *quem pertisumst esse pauperem* Rib. For **dedi**, *ei* L. M. 33 *Tubitanus* F^{3}H^{1}V, *cubitanus* edd. 1471—1483; *Turbitanus* F^{1}H^{2}LPE, Ald.: *Turditanus* Jun., Me.^{1}: *Tudicanus* ed. 1470, **Tuditanus** Me.^{2} *Tuditanus mihi* Bouterwek ap. L. M. For the name and the scansion *Tuditanus* see L. M. commentary on Lucil. l.c. He derives it from the city *Tuder* (Latinized *Tudes*).

19 1 *lucifigus* P. 3 *nugator cuidem* FHLPV, *n. quidam* ed. 1470, Ald. Jun. Me.[1]: *nugatorque idem* Me.[2], Quich. *n.* **cum idem** L. M. *at* (for **ac**) F^3H^1. 5 *tenebrione* FHLPV, *tirrium* FHLVE, *tyrrium* P. **tenebrionem** edd. *tenebrio hominem Tyrrum* conj. Rib. *Thurium* Guyet, Bothe, Quich. Perhaps *Turrium.* 6 Edd. 1470—1483 have no title. *Varro Papia Papae* Ald. 7 *tenebrio uterque* P, perhaps rightly. **quod** *quid* FH^1L. The lines from Homer are first quoted by Ald. 12 *Capitolio* edd. 1470—1483, Me.[2], Quich. **in C.** Ald. Jun. Me.[1] L. M. 13 *tenebronem* FHLPV, **tenebrionem** all edd. 14 **dimminutive** FH^1L^2V, *di-* H^2L^1PACDO. *diminutivo* Ald. Jun. Me.[1,2] 14 *appellare* A^2. 16 *aspexit* MSS, **conspexit** Bothe, *iam aspexit* L. M. **truam** FH^1, Ald., *trullam* H^2LPVE, edd. 1470—1483. 18 the words *gubernati—valentia*, absent in the MSS, were first inserted by Bentin. from p. 186. 19 **magnum** F^3H^1, edd.; *magnus* $F^1H^2LPV^1E$. *paulo* FHLPV: **paula** p. 87 where the line is quoted again. *rua* F^1, *tua* L^1. *ventuletur* L^1. 20 *evannatur* ed. 1470, Quich., L. M. **evannetur** edd. 1471—Me.[2] **vanno** ACXDMO, edd. 1470—Me.[1], Quich. *vannu* FHL^2PV (*bannu* L^1E), Me.[2] L. M. 21 *ventulantur* F^1. 22 *ergo* F^1. *in* om. H^1: *heret misera* FHLPV: *valva etiam vix haeret* Jun. Me.[1] from Carrio Emend. 2 16. *misera* edd. before Bothe, who wrote **miser.** *infirma valva est, vix haeret sera* Bücheler. *in prima volvast, v. h. miser* L. M. 23 *mea opera ut fiat fecero ocius* Rib.: *mea fecero opera ut fiat ocius* L. M. 25 *illa* FHLVP. **ut** om. L. M. *vannare* H^1. *tum vis* FHLPV. **lumbis** Me.[2] 27 cursavit FHLPV, Ald. **crissavit** Jun. *crissabitque* the elder Dousa, *creisabit* L. M. 28 *de re rustica lib. i* inserted first by Ald. *levis levissimum* H^1. 29 *ac palea* omitted, perhaps rightly, in the text of Varro: Ald. and Quich. omit the words here. *acus ac paleae vannatur* FHLPV: *accus* F^1L^1. *area* FHLPV: **aream** edd. 32 *tergum varium...linguam vafram* Rib. *linguam autem* L. M., from the supposed reading of H *lingavam*: H however has *lingam.* 34 *afri* FH^1L.

20 2 *brusire* FHLPV: *rus ire* Gulielm. Verisim. 5 1 2. *remittat* FL, Ald. Jun. Me.[1]: *repromittat* F^3HPVE, edd.

1470—1483: **reprommittas** Gulielm. l.c. Me.^{2} Quich. Rib. *remittas pro vafer* L. M. 3 **inhoneste ut** *honeste ut* MSS, *non est ut* L. M.: *inh.* J. H. O. **ludas** F^{3}H^{1}, Gulielm. l.c., *laudas* F^{1}H^{2}LPV. 6 *modostic* FHLPV. *garro* H^{1}. *particalones* H^{1}. *producantibus* FHLPV. *insta, garri* ed. 1470, *sta, garri* edd. from 1471 except Ald. and Jun.: *particulones producam tibi* edd. 1470—Me.^{2}, Rib.: *producant ibus* Quich.: *produc particulones antibus* L. M. **em tibi** for *antibus* J. H. O. *Journal of Philology* vol. 18, p. 91. 7 κλοπή clope H^{1}L^{1}, Me.^{2}, L. M. *clopee* F^{3}, *clopoe* ACX, *clopeo* DMO. κλέπτω edd. 1470—Me.^{1}, Quich. 8 *Epigone* HLPVQ: *Erigone* Quich., *Erigona* L. M. **Epigonis** Rib. (Accius 292). 9 *eaque ut hoc* FHLPV (*eaque* * H^{1}), *eaquae* F. *ut ne* FH^{1}L, *aut ne* H^{2}PVE. *verba* om. H^{1}. *eaque hoc causa ut ne quis nostra verba cleperet auribus* Voss ap. Rib., L. M. *eaque ivi hoc* (=*huc*) *causa* Bücheler. 11 *rape, tene* A in Plautus: *rape, clepe, tene* B. *arpaga* FHLPVQ: *harpaga* MSS of Plautus. 12 *partae* H^{1}: *sparte* LP. 12 *rapere—discunt* Madvig (Fin. 5 § 74) is from an old poet. After *discunt* Ald. adds *idem De Natura Deorum lib. iii, "agnum inter pecudes aurea clarum coma Quendam Thyesten clepere ausum esse e regia."* So Jun., M^{1}, Me.^{2}: but the latter notes the omission of the passage *in plerisque libris.* For *quendam* Bentin. conj. *quem clam*, Me.^{2} *quondam.* 14 *clepit* FHLPV, edd. 1470—Me.^{1} **clepsit** Me.^{2}, with the approval of Rib. and Madv. Fin. 5 § 74. 15 *octogiessi* FHLPVQ. *sequae seque* ed. 1470, Me.^{2} *si seque* edd. 1471—1483, *si se quae* Ald.: *si quae* Jun.: *sineque* Riese: *opific‖o* H^{1}, *opifico* the rest. *proviter* FHLPVQ. *si quae opifica, non probiter clepere* Gulielm. Plaut. Quaest. p. 160. 17 *torporare* Bergk Opusc. 1 356: but comp. Placidus p. 29 Deuerling, *corporato vulnerato. sorum* H^{1}. 20 *tropea* V. *libro* 1 FHLPV: **Liberi** Scriverius ap. Rib. 22 **goerus** FH^{1}LV^{1}X: *gierus* V^{2}: *goerrus* P^{1}(?): *grus* H^{2}A^{2}O. **dimminutionem** FHLP, *dim-* the rest. 23 **quot circlos** *quod circulos* FHLPVQ: *curso* FHLPV, *cursu* Q. *circos annuo in curso* Me.^{2} 26 *farmacon* FHLPV. *tractum—venenum* om. F^{1}L. *fenidis* F^{2}H^{1}: *finisdis* L^{1}: *fenissis* L^{2}: *finidis* H^{2}PV^{2}E, *feminidis* V^{1}: *feni***is* F^{1}. *Finidis* or *Phinidis* edd. 1471—

1483, Me.^{2} Quich. L. M. *Phoenissis* Ald. Jun. Me.^{1} 27 *sevenis sterilem* FHLPVQ. *st medicina* H^{2}LPVE, *st* in ras. H^{1}. *opera ẽ* (i.e. *est*) F. *si venenis* "alii" ap. Bentin. *se venenis sterilem esse illius opera et medicina autumans*, Bücheler, Rib. *se veneris* etc. Quich. *segem* or *sementim sterilem* etc. Me.^{2} *sementim* L. M. 28 *cernus* O: *cernuus-* III om. V^{1}.

21 2 *comvostit* L. 6 *rursum* L^{1}: *colus* FHLPV, edd. 1471, Ald., L. M. **collus** Bentin. from p. 200, where the line recurs, and so Jun., Me.^{1,2}, Quich. 7 *varro varro* V. *olea* F^{1}. 8 *pertusas* FHLPVQ, edd. 1470—1483: **perfusas** Ald. and subsequent edd. *ubique* PE^{1}. 9 *carnibus* P. 10 **ibi** H^{2}PVE, edd. 1470—1483, L. M.: *sibi* FH^{1}L, Ald. Jun. Me.^{1,2} Quich. *pasto ludos* P. *cernui Consualia* edd. 1470, 1476—Me.^{1}: **coriis C**. ed. 1471, Me.^{2} Quich. L. M. 12 *exeunt*, Ald. Jun. Me.^{1} *dictae quod* A^{2}. **stricte** PA^{2}CXDM, *strictae* FALVA^{1}O. *emitantur* H. *oculis* LA^{1}. 13 **sui** MSS except A, which according to L. M. has *suo* corrected from *sui*, edd. except L. M. who writes *suo*. **perstringant** E, edd. 1470—Ald. M.^{2} *praestringant* Jun. Me.^{1} L. M. VIII* F^{3}: L. M. adds from Verg. *striduntque cavernis*. 14 *calibum* FHLPE, *calidum* V. 17 *cebraet* H^{1}, *crebae* P(?), *genus* om. FH^{1}. 19 *Quiri*tare* H. *is* F^{1}H^{1}D^{2}: **iis** H^{2}L(?)PVECD: *his* F^{2}AMO. *vocant* V^{1}A^{1}. 20 VI* F. 21 *hic* ed. 1470, Jun. Me.^{1}, **haec** MSS here and Varro l.c., edd. 1471—Ald., Me.^{2}, and subsequent edd. *heiulitavit* FLV^{2}E, *heiulitavi* H^{1}, *heiulavit* H^{2}, *heiulietavit* P, *heiulictavit* V^{1}: the form with *h* is also supported by the MSS of Varro l.c. *eiulitabit* Jun. 22 *anxarius* H^{1}: *quiritas* H^{1}, *quiritant* P^{1}. 22 *commento grammaticis* FHLPVQ, edd. 1470—1483: *commento grammatices* Ald. Jun. Me.^{1,2}: *commentariis grammaticis* Quich. from p. 379 1. 23 *quiritatum* FHLPVQ, edd. 170—Me.^{2}: *clam it quiritatum* Gothofred, **quiritatur** Turneb. ap. edd. Both forms, *quirito* and *quiritor*, are attested: Diom. p. 381 K. quotes *quirito* from Livius, *quiritatur* from Varro: comp. Prisc. 1 p. 396. *Quiritare* Varro L. L. 6. 68. Glossae Nominum p. 591 5 Goetz *queritator queritator vociferator* (perhaps for *quiritatur querellatur vociferatur*): Gloss. Vat. p. 158 25 *quiritat quaerit* (perhaps = *queritur*): Gloss. Abavus p. 384 10 *quiritat populo adloquitur*.

Apul. Apol. 82 has *proquiritat. Quiritat, clamat* L. M. 24 For *cariceum* L. M. suggests *cariosum*, J. H. O. *caricem.* 27 *Leucadia ciperi* FHL²PV. *aperi, viden* Jun. *hei perii* Gulielm. Verisim. 2 21, Quich. L. M. (*ei*). *osculator* F¹. *non* H¹, **num** the rest. *illum illa ec pudet* FH¹LP(?)V¹E: *i. illa haec* V², *i. illaec* H²Q. *num hilum illaec* L. M., *num hilum illa haec* Rib. *Périi! viden ut ósculatur cáriem? non illum ecpudet* J. H. O., *Journal of Philology* 16, p. 165. 30 *nemo illa* om. F¹L. *cari* F¹L. *cariosior* edd. 1470—Ald., **curiosior** Jun. marg. and subsequent edd. from the MSS. 31 *virrosae* H¹. **adpetentes** L¹, *app-* the rest. 33 *verosam* L. 34 *cedam* FHLPVQ.

22 1 **sum** FHLPV, Scal. Conj. in Varr. p. 147: *sim* Quich. L. M. from Stephanus. *desint* Quich. 4 *lib. viiii* E. *lib. xv* Me.² by mistake. 5 *actari* MSS (*act*ri* H¹V¹). *aptari* edd. 1471—Me.²: **iactari** P. Jun. ap. Gerl., Quich. L. M. *comes* V. *fruitare* MSS. 6 *altis* Oudendorp ap. L. M. **inmissas** VE, *immissas* F³HP, *missas* F¹L. 7 *frequenter* om. V, edd. before Ald., Me.² 9 *privum* L. M. 10 *concalescit* L. M. for *congelascit* of MSS and edd. Perhaps two glosses are confused: *gelat est congelascit et colligitur, gliscit crescit vel ignescit.* Gloss. L. G. p. 32 29 *gelat κρυοῦται, πήγνυται*: p. 34 19 *gliscit αὐξεῖ. collitur* F¹. 12 *clioscor* L¹. **gliscor** ed. 1471, Rib., L. M. *glisco* the other edd. 14 *dissumma* FH¹V: *disumma* H²LPE: *quorum* FHLPV: *quibus se a* the same MSS. **de summa** Turneb. ap. Quich. *dic, summa* etc. Grotius ap. Rib.: *duc, summa* etc. Rib.: *summa ibi perduellum est?* Bothe, who thinks *dis* a mere repetition of the last syllable of *Aeneadis*: so L. M. who reads *summa ubi* etc. *perduellium* Passerat ap. Quich. *quorsum* Bothe², Rib., who spells *quosum*: *quibus a partibus* Voss ap. Rib., omitting *se*: *quibus ex p.* Rib., *quibus ec p.* L. M. But if *gliscor* is right, *gliscunt se* may also be. Bothe and Gerl. mention other conj. 17 *animi horrescit* (*orrescit* H) *et gliscit* MSS: so ed. 1470, Ald. *animus horrescit* Jun. Me.² *et* om. Jun. and subsequent edd. *animus mi* J. H. O. *séd nescioquid nunc est: animi crescit, gliscit gaudium* L. M. 18 **historiae** MSS. *susteneri* L¹: *inmensum* L¹. 21 *aus* L¹: *hau* L. M. 22 *libidinum* L¹. 24 *pulcrae* L¹: *pulchrae* FL²: *pulchre*

HPV. 25 *postomis* and in 28 *postomide* MSS and edd. to Me.[2] **prostomis** Turneb. Adv. 17 24: *stomis*, and in 28 *pro stomide*, Salmas. ap. L. M., L. M. Rönsch, *Semasiologische Beiträge* p. 58, defends *postomis* as = *ἀποστομίς*. 26 *inponitur* FHL[1]PV. *imp-* L[2] and the rest. 28 *posomide* H[1]. 30 Schmidt and Schottmüller would read XV for **XI** to correspond with the quotation in l. 27. 31 *Lucilius* FH[1]DLP[1], Ald., om. H[2]P[2]VE: **Lucius** Jun. *paceni* FHLPE, *paneci* V. *Paneci* ed. 1470, Me.[2], *Panaeti* edd. 1476—1483, *παναίθου* (*'hoc est splendidi'*) Jun. *peracer* Muretus V.L. 3 18. *Panaethi* L. M. *Paconius* is a common *nomen*, and *Pacina* is found as a *cognomen* C.I.L. 2 150 (at Villaviçosa in Portugal). 32 *trico fuit* Jun. 33 *id est facilis* bracketed by L. M. and J. H. O. as coming from p. 338 12, where the same passage is quoted.

23 1 **feminae** the MSS, *feminarum* Quich. L. M. **lubidinem** FHLPV, *lib-* the rest. *indagatricis* L[1]. 2 *et* om. L[1]. 3 **X** XVII Schottmüller and Schmidt. 5 *Boethontibus* MSS. *Boetuntibus* ed. Brix. 1483, Jun. 6 *sagum* L[1]. *solunt* L[1]. 8 *cor cur erumna* FH, *cor cur aerumna* LE, *cor cur earumna* P. 9 *mones* F[1]HLPV, *mones* F[3]H[1], ed. 1471: *munes* F[5] and other edd. *moenes* J. H. O. The spelling *monitio* for *munitio* is found in Gloss. Sang. p. 259 48 G. *aput* L[1]. *nonam largiatia* F[1]HLPV[2], *largitia* F[3]V[1]. *innota* P.: *ignota erat* is expunged by Guyet ap. Quich. and L. M. *a largitione quae innotuerat* ed. 1470, *a largitione quae ignota erat* edd. 1476—Me.[1] *a largitione* L. M. 10 *ad id quae* VE, *ād id quae* * HLP, *ad id quae*^{am} * FP: perhaps *quod amici*. 11 *animumque munem* Stieglitz ap. L. M. 12 *apud Sallustium in Iugurthina. Nam quae* Delrio, Syntagma Trag. Latinae, p. 170, and Nic. Faber ap. Me.[1] MS. Me. himself proposes *Sallustius Iugurthino bello. ignara* Quich. *ignorata* the Munich MS of Sallust l.c. 13 *neme* F[1]L: *rariter* MSS here: *pariter* Sall. l.c. 16 *derant publica* H[1]. 17 *a precando* F[3]H[2]PV (*praecando* V), *a recando* H[1], *a petendo* F[1]LCXDMO: *procando* Ald. *id est poscendo* bracketed by J. H. O. 19 *precando* or *praecando* the MSS, and so in 20. 20 *appetitores* edd. before Jun. 21 *vel* for *id est* edd. 1470—1483. *precacitas* H[1]. 25

magistas FH¹L. *maiestas vos mea procat* MSS. *quin quod parere maiestas mea Precat, toleratis?* Me.² *quin quod parere mea vos maiestas procat, Toleratis, extemploque illanc deducitis?* Bothe. *quin quod parere vosmet maiestas mea Procat* Klussmann ap. Rib. **quin, quod parere mihi vos m. m. Procat** Rib. Quich. *quin, quod parere mea vos maiestas procat Toleratis animis?* L. M. 27 *Kalendarum* FHVPEQ: *Calendarum vocabuli pr.* Me.² *conplexus* L¹. *de vita praeterita* ADMOX. 28 *libro vi* H. *calendis calabantur* FHLPACDX: *kalendis kalebant* M: *calendis calebant* O. 29 *kalendae* MVE: *calendae* the rest. 30 *kalin* P(?)E: *calin* the rest. 31 *sulant* F¹.

24 1 *populi* M. *populis* is bracketed by L. M. 2 *lib.* * 11 H. 2 *quod* is bracketed by L. M. 3 *senatu* V¹, *senatui* FHLPV²: *senatum* Popia from Varro L. L. 5 80: Lips. Epist. Quaest. 4 26. 6 *nihil ferre damnato offerent* FH¹L²V¹, *obferent* L¹: *offerent* om. H²PV²E. *nihil ferre damnato nisi ruborem* edd. 1470—1483, Me.²: *nihil adferre d. n. r.* Quich.: *nihil fere damni affert n. r.* a 'vir doctus' quoted by Mai: *nihil fere damnato obfert* L. M., who suggests *fert*; *nihil damnato obferre* J. H. O. 7 *omnes* H¹L. 9 *nomen* FHLPV. **numen** is mentioned as some one's conjecture by Me.¹ (critical note). 10 *delicis* FHLPV. *ignomiam* F¹. *exemplo* H²L²VE, ed. 1470: *exemplum* the rest. 14 *teloniarii* FH¹L²O¹: *telonearii* H²PVEAD²: *teloniari* L¹CD¹MX: *telonarii* O². 15 *sciscitantur* ACDMOX, ed. 1470, L. M.: *sciscitentur* FHLP²V², Me.² Quich.: *scitentur* P¹: *citentur* V¹. **ut** F²H¹, edd. 1470—Me,¹ Quich. L. M.: *et* the other MSS, Me.²: *ex eo* (*ut* om.) O. *accipunt* A¹. 16 *portiorem* L¹. 19, 20. The text was first restored from Plautus by Quicherat. *dominum* P¹: *dixit* FHLPVQ. *omnem* and *rem* om. MSS. *quidquid* L¹. 21 *inprobantur* L¹: *improbantur* the rest. *questus* HLDV, *in* om. F¹. 22 *foeneratorum* L. 24 *portitorem* (*protitorem* and *protitorum* P) the MSS: Quich. first introduced *portitores* from Ter. 25 *dalatam* L¹. 28 *caron* the MSS.

25 1 *coponem* FH¹L: *cauponem* H²PVE: *cuponem* Q. *bovam* MSS, Turneb. Adv. 17 24: *bonam* edd. 1470—Quich. *obbam* Cuiac. Obs. 11 7, L. M. Perhaps *buam. obplevisse*

L. M. 2 *tum portitores erram duxe* FHLPV. *serram ducere* Cuiac. Obs. 5 9, Turneb. Adv. 8 7: *tum portitores aera induxere* edd. to Jun. *cum* for *tum* Gronov. Obs. 4 5 (ap. Quich. L. M.). *serram duxe* Quich., Bücheler, L. M. 4 *eaquae* FL. *dissensione* or *dissentione* the MSS. *seditio est dissensio civium quod seorsum eunt* etc. A. *alii ad alios* (*alias* H^1, *lios* L^1) the MSS, and Servius (Dan.) Aen. 1 149, Isid. 5 26 4: *alii ab aliis* L. M. from Le Clerc. *sedicio* V. 6 *aphamis* H^1: *abamis* PVE.

COMMENTARY.

TITLE.

Thubursicensis. On *Thubursicum Numidarum* (a different town from *Thubursicum Bure*), see Mommsen C. I. L. 8 p. 489. The first syllable was sometimes written without the aspirate, as in our manuscripts. An inscription of Thubursicum Numidarum (C. I. L. 8 4878), dated A.D. 323, commemorates a munificent act of one Nonius Marcellus Herculius, who is perhaps to be identified with our author: *Beatissimo Sa*[*eculo d. n.*] *Constantini Ma*[*ximi*] *Semper Aug. et* [*Crispi.*] *Et Constantin*[*i nobb. Caess.*] *plateam veterem* [*omni*] *lapid*[*e*] *spoliatam Nonius Marcell*[*us*] *Herculius so*[*lide?*] *constravit* [*et ther*]*mas et ce*[*tera rui*]*na dilap*[*sa aedificia*].

I.

For the meaning of *proprietas*, 'the true and original signification,' compare Quint. 8 2 7 *secundo modo dicitur 'proprium' inter plura, quae sunt eiusdem nominis, id unde cetera ducta sunt, ut 'vertex' est contorta in se aqua, vel quidquid aliud similiter vertitur, inde propter flexum capillorum,*

pars summa capitis, ex hoc id quod in montibus eminentissimum. Mercier 2 quotes Gellius 16 5 11 *meminisse autem debebimus id vocabulum ('vestibulum') non semper a veteribus scriptoribus proprie, sed per quasdam translationes esse dictum, quae tamen ita sunt factae, ut ab ista, de qua diximus, proprietate non longe desciverint.* Gloss. Hessels E 318 *ethimologia, proprietas.*

1 1 Festus p. 339 M. illustrates this use of *senium* from Caecilius (Hymnis): *senium a senili acerbitate et vitiis dictum posuit Caecilius in Hymnide, 'sine suam senectutem ducat usque ad senium sorbilo.'* 10, 11 Serv. A. 9 154 *melior, i.e. maior et prima.*

2 1 Gloss. Vat. p. 170 45 Goetz *senio maerore.* 3 Paulus 369 *velitatio est ultro citroque probrorum obiectatio, ab exemplo velitaris pugnae.* The note is illustrated by the passage from Plautus here quoted. Ib. 28 (in a Plautine series) *advelitatio iactatio quaedam verborum, figurata ab hastis velitaribus.* 14 Serv. A. 9 614, quoted in *apparatus criticus.* Id. A. 3 484 *Phrygiam chlamydem aut acu pictam, huius enim artis peritos Phrygiones dicimus secundum Plautum, in Phrygia enim inventa est haec ars, aut etc.* Isid. 19 22 22 *acu picta vestis acu textilis, vel acu ornata. Eadem et Phrygia, huius enim artis periti Phrygii omnes* (read *Phrygiones*) *dicuntur, sive quia inventa est in Phrygia* etc. 28 Paul. 102 *hostimentum beneficii pensatio.* Fest. 268 *redhostire referre gratiam. Novius in Lupo...Accius...nam et hostire pro aequare posuerunt.* He illustrates from Ennius and Pacuvius. Comp. ib. 314. Placidus 12 *hostiae autem aequae, ab hostimento, id est aequamento:* ib. 52 *hostita aequata, liniata.* Serv. A. 4 424 quotes Nonius's first passage from the Asinaria. Ib. A. 2 156 (Dan.) *hostia vero victima, et dicta quod di per eam hostiantur, i.e. aequi et propitii reddantur, unde hostimentum aequationem.* Gloss. Vat. 87 52 Goetz *hostit, aequat, adplanat:* Gloss. Hessels H 144, 5 *hostire aequare: hostimentum lapis quo pondus aequatur.* The word therefore seems to have been used in the sense of making equal, literally and metaphorically. Another meaning, to strike down, to crush, is illustrated by Nonius p. 121.

4 1 *Tolutim* seems to express an easy pace, perhaps a

slow canter; Gloss. Philox. 198 54 Goetz, *tolutarius βαδιστής.* Fronto p. 156 Naber *sententias eius tolutares video nunquam quadrupedo concito cursu teneri.* L. M. quotes Dositheus p. 432 K. *tolutor παίζω* (? *βαδίζω* ?). 18 Paul. 61 *capulum et manubrium gladii vocatur, et id quo mortui efferuntur, utrumque a capiendo dictum. Sane a capulo fit capularis.* Serv. A. 6 222 *nam capulus dicitur a capiendo. Unde ait Plautus 'capularis senex.'* Placidus 29 *capuli lecti funerei vel rogi in modum arcae structi.* Gloss. Vat. 27 49 *capulus manubrium gladii: capulum ubi mortui efferuntur:* and so other glossaries.

5 5 Festus p. 364 M. *temetum vinum. Plautus in Aulularia 'Cererine, Strobile, has facturi nuptias? Quid, quia'* etc.; quoted again by Servius G. 1 344 and Macrob. 3 11 2. Serv. A. 12 463 *temulentum, qui vino plenus est;* Isid. 10 271 *temulentus a temeto, id est vino, dictus.* Placidus p. 83 *temetum vinum, quod temptet mentes et faciat titubare;* so Porphyrion Hor. 2 Epist. 2 163, Donatus Ter. Andr. 1 4 2.

H. NETTLESHIP.

136. *αὐτὰ γὰρ ἔστι γε ταῦτα, δι' ἀλλήλων δὲ θέοντα*
γίγνεται ἀλλοιωπά· τὰ γὰρ διάκρυψις ἀμείβει.

Read *τὰ γὰρ διὰ Κύπρις ἀμείβει.* For it is the spirit of love which interchanges all the vegetable and animal kingdoms, creating different forms out of what is in reality the same. So just below:

αὐτὰ γὰρ ἔστι γε ταῦτα, δι' ἀλλήλων δὲ θέοντα
γίγνονθ' ἄνθρωποί τε καὶ ἄλλων ἔθνεα θηρῶν,
ἄλλοτε μὲν φιλότητι συνερχόμεν' εἰς ἕνα κόσμον.

Karsten in both places ruins the sense by construing *αὐτὰ ipsa* whereas it means *eadem*, a common enough use of it in Homer. So also Empedocles 122.

For the tmesis of *διὰ Κύπρις ἀμείβει* compare 58: *τῶν δὲ συνερχομένων ἐξ ἔσχατον ἵστατο Νεῖκος*, 229: *Κύπριδος ἐν παλάμῃσιν ὅτε ξὺμ πρῶτ' ἐφύοντο.*

282. *εὖτε δ' ἀναθρώσκῃ, πάλιν ἐκπνεῖ· ὥσπερ ὅταν παῖς.*
299. *εὖτε δ' ἀναθρώσκῃ, πάλιν ἐκπνεῖ ἶσον ὀπίσσω.*

Read *ἐκπνέει*, for, though Empedocles employs the bucolic hiatus (110, 262, 291, 378, 381)[1], yet it does not at all follow that he would suffer such a piece of scansion as this, which is simply gratuitous, as he uses uncontracted forms quite freely. Why indeed should a man write *ὑπεκθέει αἴσιμον ὕδωρ* at the end of 295, and then allow *ἐκπνεῖ ἶσον ὀπίσσω* to stand at the end of 299?

It may be worth while to remark that Empedocles does not admit a weak cesura in the fourth foot; consequently lines 37 and 422 as printed by Karsten must be wrong.

[1] 378 is a doubtful instance, for we might there read *νέκρ' εἴδεα* for *νεκρὰ εἴδεα*. And the reading in 381 is uncertain.

345. *εὖτε δ' ἀποκριθῶσι.*
Read *ἀποκρινθῶσι*, comparing *διακρινθήμεναι* in Iliad Γ 98 and similar Homeric forms.

366. *δένδρεα δ' ἐμπεδόφυλλα καὶ ἐμπεδόκαρπα τέθηλε.*
Read *τεθήλει*, for this is part of a description of the golden age.

368. *οὐδέ τις ἦν κείνοισιν Ἄρης θεὸς οὐδὲ Κυδοιμός.*
Read *Ἄρης θοός*, the stock poetic epithet of Ares. *Ἄρης θεὸς* cannot be decently construed either as a title of Ares or as a predicate.

400. *παντοίων ἐπύθοντο κλύειν εὐηχέα βάξιν.*
Karsten translates *ἐπύθοντο* by *optant*, and such is certainly the meaning. But how to get it out of *ἐπύθοντο*? Read *ἐβύλοντο* which is certainly used as an aorist by Homer (*α* 234 unless we are there to read *ἐβάλοντο*), and may well therefore be used as a gnomic aorist by Empedocles. Even supposing the Homeric passage to be corrupt, Empedocles may have taken *ἐβόλοντο* from it.

For that matter, what are we to make of *ἦεν* and *λάμπεσκεν* in 306 and 307? If the passage is genuine Empedocles used both of them like gnomic aorists in a simile! More probably there is some deep-seated corruption.

With regard to the alleged reference to Empedocles by Plato (*Gorgias* 493 A) there is only one thing certain; the person alluded to is not Empedocles. He is described as *κομψὸς ἀνὴρ ἴσως Σικελός τις ἢ Ἰταλικός*, which proves that he was not a Sicilian but an Italian. For the words *Σικελὸς κομψὸς ἀνήρ* are proverbial, and so lead up to *Ἰταλικός*, but if Empedocles had been meant, Plato would have said *κομψὸς ἀνὴρ Σικελός* and there an end; why should he have said any more?

ARTHUR PLATT.

NOTES ON SOLON.

It is a strange thing that all the fragments of Solon which we owed to Aristides should have also appeared in the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*. Can this be accident? It hardly looks like it. The fragments in question are xxxv, xxxvi, xxxvii (Bergk, whom I quote from the fourth edition, Teubner 1882), being in all 25 iambic lines, and part of two trochaic. The number of iambics quoted from Solon in the *Ἀθ. Πολ.* is 35. The chances against 25 lines taken from Solon by another author all appearing in these 35 are considerable. However it is to be observed that if xxxvi and xxxvii are to be taken together as one fragment, and are not independent, this lessens the odds a great deal.

Still the presumption is that Aristides was not quoting direct from Solon, but from the author whom for brevity we will call Aristotle. This would account at once for the peculiar way in which Aristides introduces xxxv. *Ὁ δὲ δὴ Σόλων*, says he (II 536), *καὶ βιβλίον ἐξεπίτηδες πεποίηκεν εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πολιτείαν.* This curious phrase did not pass unnoticed by the acumen of Bergk, who subjoins "vel sic tamen potest carmen ad Phocum intelligi." That is to say that Aristides refers to the poem in a very extraordinary manner, and if he had really had before him the poem to Phocus, he would never have said *εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πολιτείαν.* But if he had Aristotle before him, it is intelligible enough, for Aristotle simply says *καὶ πάλιν ἐτέρωθί που λέγει περὶ τῶν διανείμασθαι τὴν γῆν βουλομένων* (*Ἀθ. Πολ.* cap. xii). Plutarch on the contrary says plainly *πρὸς δὲ Φῶκον ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι γράφων*

(*Vit. Sol.* cap. 14, Solon xxxii). And Aristides paraphrases several passages of the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία[1].

We can hardly resist the conclusion therefore that Aristides is not an independent witness to the text of Solon, and this is evidently a matter of some consequence in treating Solon's text.

If this be granted, the natural question to ask next is: What is the comparative merit of the text of Aristides and that of the British Museum papyrus? And the answer is plain. The latter is far superior to the former. There is hardly a single passage in which Aristides has preserved a reading which is clearly better, though there certainly are a few, as δ' for θ' at xxxvi 18 (*θεσμοὺς δ' ὁμοίως*) and *ἐστράφην* for *ἐγράφην* or *ἐτράφην* in the last line of xxxvii. But there are many where Aristides has given utter nonsense.

The Berlin fragments present a still worse text for what little of Solon is preserved in them, and are practically useless.

It appears very lucky that we have got such a good text of the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία as we have; that of Aristides and that of Berlin would have been far worse.

I will take first the celebrated iambic passage, Bergk xxxvi and xxxvii, Aristotle xii 28—54, referring to Aristides as A, the Berlin fragments as B, the London papyrus as L.

The first two lines are found only in L:

ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν μὲν οὕνεκα ξυνήγαγον
δῆμον, τί τούτων πρὶν τυχεῖν ἐπαυσάμην;

The explanation given in Dr Sandys's edition is quite impossible for three reasons. (1) He translates: "as to the ends *for which*...why did I desist before I had attained those ends?" Now if *τῶν* meant *which* it would have to follow the demonstrative. See note at the end of this paper. (2) *μὲν* has no antithesis; Solon uses *μὲν* often enough, and always provides it with a proper antithetical clause. (3) The sentence makes no sense, none whatever. Dr Sandys tries to make some by observing: "In the triumphant *συμμαρτυροίη κ.τ.λ.* he seems to say,

[1] Sandys, p. xxv, note. He appears to agree with me in thinking that Aristides did not know Solon at first hand.

'Earth is the best witness whether I had cause enough *τοῦ τὸν δῆμον συναγαγεῖν, without* going on to do those things which I am blamed for not doing.'" But this is Dr Sandys's own invention. What Solon says according to the text is: "Earth is my witness whether I had cause enough to *συναγαγεῖν* the people for certain definite reasons, and then to stop before doing what I meant." Solon might as well have said: "I made laws to put an end to slavery of the citizens, and then stopped before I had put an end to their slavery." The sentence is gross and palpable nonsense, as well as bad grammar.

But that Dr Sandys should have acquiesced in such a rendering shows well enough that it is no use to try any further experiments in the way of rendering what we have got. There are three crying requisites to be satisfied; *τῶν* must be demonstrative, *μὲν* must have an antithesis, and the lines must give a tolerable meaning. All the corrections proposed hitherto fail to satisfy one or other or all three.

That *τῶν μὲν οὕνεκα* is right seems clear from *τῶν οὕνεκ' ἀλκὴν πάντοθεν ποιεύμενος* in xxxvii ('Aθ. Πολ. xii 53); and though *τούτων οὕνεκα* would get rid of *μέν*, it would not help us much further. To read in the next line *δῆμόν τι, τοῦ δὲ* or *τῶν δὲ* is unsatisfactory, for another *τι* like that would be sought in vain in Solon. Next occurs obviously *δῆμον, τόσου δὲ*, but *τόσου* displeases me though it certainly makes sense. For it would refer to the tyranny, which surely is what is in Solon's mind. Perhaps he may have written:

ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν μὲν οὕνεκα ξυνήγαγον
δῆμον, τέλους δὲ πρὶν τυχεῖν ἐπαυσάμην.

For compare Theognis 949—954, lines ascribed to Solon by Hecker (and though there is some truth in Bergk's remark "nimis arguti videntur quam ut *Soloni* tribui possint," yet when one compares Solon xxxiii the resemblance is exceedingly striking. And Solon appears to have invariably said the same thing in both elegiac and iambic or trochaic verse, if he did not in all three. Bergk's objection would apply equally to every known poet who could possibly be put into the *Theognidea*). However, in these lines we read *πρήξας δ' οὐκ ἔπρηξα καὶ οὐκ*

ἐτέλεσσα τελέσσας. The whole six lines are a series of oxymorons of this kind, exactly corresponding to Solon xxxiii, and the essence of both is that Solon had a chance of making himself tyrant, and, as his enemies thought, "fece per viltà lo gran rifiuto."

In both he is putting it from their point of view.

So here also he is defending himself against the same enemies. "For certain definite reasons," he says, "I gathered the people together, and yet ceased from my labours before I had reached the goal," the goal being tyranny, which the κακοφραδεῖς considered the natural and proper end of the champion of the δῆμος.

Dr Sandys is *verbally* correct in saying: "He is in fact putting in his own words the complaint which elsewhere he gives in the words of the malcontents, περιβαλὼν δ' ἄγραν ἀγασθεὶς οὐκ ἐπέσπασεν μέγα | δίκτυον (frag. 33)." But how he can have supposed xxxiii to refer to anything but the tyranny I cannot imagine.

I have tried to satisfy the three conditions laid down, but do not feel at all confident about the actual correction here proposed, which is indeed technically not a restoration but a leap in the dark. But at least we had better give up pretending that we understand the text as it is.

'Aθ. Πολ. xii 33, Bergk xxxvi 4.

ὅρους ἀνείλον πολλαχῇ πεπηγότας.

πολλαχῇ AL. But some MSS of Plutarch give πολλαχοῦ (*Vit. Sol.* 15). I do not see that πολλαχῇ makes any good sense, nor does πόλλ' ἔτη (J. B. Mayor) commend itself, for why should all the ὅροι be ancient? Is not πολλαχοῦ the true reading?

'Aθ. Πολ. xii 39, Bergk xxxvi 10.

ὡς ἂν πολλαχῇ πλανωμένους.

ὡς ἂν looks very suspicious; I do not know of any use of ἂν at all like this in so early a poet. Perhaps Solon said ὥστε (cf. 'Aθ. Πολ. xii 21, Bergk xxxiv 2). This would be very liable to corruption at Athens when the Homeric use of ὥστε

for ὡς had gone out, and we have seen that AL are in reality only a single authority.

Here again πολλαχῇ is strange.

'Aθ. Πολ. xii 42, Bergk xxxvi 13.

ταῦτα μὲν κράτει,
ὁμοῦ βίην τε καὶ δίκην συναρμόσας.

κράτει (κράτη one MS) ὁμοῦ A, κρ . τη ὁμοῦ B, κρατεεινομου L. From the last Kenyon and Sandys edit κράτει νόμου. But the phrase itself has something wrong about it, as it seems to me; again the rhythm is not like Solon, the only other pause after the second syllable of a trimeter being the highly doubtful δῆμον, τί τούτων discussed above; thirdly Plutarch also quotes ὁμοῦ βίην τε καὶ δίκην συναρμόσας as a separate line. Yet neither κράτει nor κράτη is satisfactory, and our best authority L demands that the ν should be kept. Explain the reading of L then as κρατέων, ὁμοῦ. For the form of the participle compare δοκέω (an iambus, Bergk xxxii 4). And diphthongs in L seem liable to be written or read as ω; thus Mr Kenyon printed τυχῶν for τυχεῖν (cap. xii 29), ὁμοίως seems to be for ὁμοίους (xii 45), and I shall presently note an instance of ω for ευ. Then for the sense of κρατέων compare Bergk xxxiii 5, ἤθελον γάρ κεν κρατήσας...καὶ τυραννεύσας Aθηνῶν. As κρατήσας there means "having grasped the supreme power," so here κρατέων means "being in possession of the supreme power," as Solon was for the time.

'Aθ. Πολ. xii 44, Bergk xxxvi 15.

ἔρεξα καὶ διῆλθον ὡς ὑπεσχόμην.

"διήνυσ'? Herwerden," says Sandys. "Suum cuique is our Roman justice," and Bergk actually read διήνυσ' in his text years ago, rightly too in all probability.

'Aθ. Πολ. xii 49, Bergk xxxvi 20, xxxvii.

οὐκ ἂν κατέσχε δῆμον· εἰ γὰρ ἤθελον
ἃ τοῖς ἐναντίοισιν ἥνδανεν τότε,
αὖθις δ' ἃ τοῖσιν οὕτεροι φρασαίατο,
πολλῶν ἂν ἀνδρῶν ἥδ' ἐχηρώθη πόλις.

This passage is set thick with most thorny difficulties of every kind. In the first place what is the connexion of thought? When B was first deciphered by Blass, he contended that εἰ γὰρ ἤθελον κ.τ.λ. should follow οὐκ ἂν κατέσχε δῆμον. To which Bergk sharply rejoined: "Neque audiendus Blass, contendens Solonis fr. 36, v. 20 supplendum esse et continuandum addito fr. 37, quemadmodum est in charta: adversatur non solum Plutarchi auctoritas, sed etiam manifesto hians oratio, quod detrimentum non fugisset criticorum acumen, si Solonis iambus ad hunc modum coartatus in Aristidis libello legeretur." Well, since the discovery of L we are in a position to set aside the difficulty about Plutarch's authority, but now that we have the "iambus coartatus" the acumen of the critics does not seem to have risen to the occasion as Bergk expected.

"I made equal laws for both parties, the few and the many," says Solon, "but any other man in my position would have egged on the δῆμος, for if I had liked to please both parties (or one of the two parties?) this city would have lost many of her citizens." "Manifesto hians oratio" indeed. Solon might have said: "would have egged on the δῆμος (not *both*, nor simply *either* party) till he had made himself tyrant." Or again he might have said: "I made equal laws for both, but another would have favoured *one or other party*, and the result would have been disastrous, for if I had done so one of the two parties would have been destroyed." Our text gives neither the one sense nor the other, nor any sense at all that I can see. In fact Bergk seems to have been right, as he generally is, and we must assume that εἰ γὰρ ἤθελον did *not* follow directly upon κατέσχε δῆμον, but that there has fallen out a passage of some length. Let us give Aristides his due if he had the wit to see this, and separated the two parts from one another, but perhaps his text of the Πολιτεία had something in between the two which has been lost in B and L.

Next consider the text which follows εἰ γὰρ ἤθελον. A gives

> ἃ τοῖς ἐναντίοισιν ἤνδανεν τότε
> αὖτις (or αὖθις) δ' ἃ τοῖσιν ἀτέροις δρᾶσαι διὰ
> πολλῶν ἂν ἀνδρῶν ἤδ' ἐχειρώθη πόλις.

L has:

αὐτοῖς ἐναντίοισιν ἤνδανεν τότε
αὖθις δ' αυτοισινουτεροι (or αι) φρασαιατο
πολλῶν ἂν ἀνδρῶν ἤδ' ἐχηρώθη πόλις.

B has απα . δεναντιοισιν for αὐτοῖς ἐναντίοισιν, and αυτισδεν . ιο.ν at the beginning of the next line.

It is clear that not much faith is to be here put in our authorities. The double ἃ τοῖς(ιν) of A looks like a desperate endeavour to import something like Greek into the confusion, and considering the general superiority of L it is unsafe to rely upon A here against it, especially as A just here will neither scan nor construe.

Then come the grammatical difficulties. ἤθελον has no business to govern an accusative, and no instance of it has yet been produced. Mr Sidgwick's ποεῖν for τότε, accepted by the Dutch editors, is open to grave doubt. Solon, I think, would have said ῥέζειν in this sense, not ποιεῖν, and there is no evidence that he could have said ποεῖν under any circumstances. Further, why should ἤνδανεν be indicative and φρασαίατο optative?

Then again who are the ἐναντίοι? The rich, according to Dr Sandys. The δῆμος rather, I think; it was the δῆμος which χαῦνα μὲν τότ' ἐφράσαντο, νῦν δέ μοι χολεύμενοι λοξὸν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρῶσι πάντες ὥστε δήϊον. Observe here again the τότε.

Well, the conclusion gradually borne in upon me after long turning over the whole passage is that Solon wrote:

εἰ γὰρ ἤθελον
αὐτοῖς ἐναντίοισιν ἀνδάνειν τότε,

and that it is just possible he may have gone on

αὖθις (or αὖτις) δὲ τοῖσιν οὐτέρᾳ (οἳ ἑτέρᾳ)[1] φρασαίατο.

"If I had been willing at that time, when they χαῦνα ἐφράσαντο, to please the very men who are now my enemies, or again to please those who might devise otherwise in their hearts, the consequence would have been the loss of many

[1] Still more probably perhaps οὔτερα.

to the city." But I fear that the line beginning *αὖθις* is hopelessly corrupt.

But especially it must be insisted on that the connexion between *κατέσχε δῆμον* and *εἰ γὰρ ἤθελον* remains to be shewn, and that till it is shewn we must keep the two fragments apart.

'Aθ. Πολ. xii 57.

δήμῳ μὲν εἰ χρὴ διαφραδὴν ὀνειδίσαι.

The metrical objections to *διαφραδὴν* are two; Solon does not shorten a syllable before a consonant and liquid, and he does not admit trisyllabic feet in his iambics or trochaics. The only exception to the latter rule is xxxiii 3, where the tribrach is at the beginning of the line, and that makes some difference. (Bergk's note on xxxvii 5 is quite unworthy of him.) To the former may be objected iv 16, *τῷ δὲ χρόνῳ*, iv 32 *κακὰ πλεῖστα*, xlii 3, *φαιδρῷ σε προσεννέπῃ προσώπῳ*, 'Aθ. Πολ. v 17, *ἐν μετρίοισι*. Of these the first and fourth are excusable, because *χρόνῳ* and *μετρίοισι* could not otherwise be got into a hexameter, in the second *πολλὰ* was proposed by Schneidewin and the MSS vary in the order of the two words, in the third neither reading nor authorship is exactly certain. Taking the two objections together, they appear fatal to *διαφραδήν*[1], and it was for these reasons alone that I once proposed *μ' ἀμφάδην*. This however is wrong, for *μ'* would not be put by Solon so late in the sentence, though *ἀμφάδην* would be the word naturally used by him in iambics, as *ἀμφαδίην* is in a pentameter by Theognis (90), *ἀμφαδίην νεῖκος ἀειράμενος*, an exactly similar idea.

Thus here again we seem necessarily reduced to a confession of ignorance. Can *διαφραδήν* conceal some accusative?

'Aθ. Πολ. xii 64, Bergk xxxvi 21.

πρὶν ἀνταράξας π . αρ ἐξεῖλεν γάλα.

πῖαρ Plutarch, *πῦαρ* Aristotle. The rest has been restored by Mr Adam. Supposing *πῖαρ* to be right, we must construe it "he had extracted rich milk." Bergk's explanation that the

[1] Will any one be bold enough to scan it as a cretic?

order is ταράξας γάλα ἐξεῖλεν πῖαρ is utterly incredible. Such an inversion of words is out of the question, though Bergk says (xxxiii 5): "Solet passim Solon verborum traiectione satis licenter uti, velut eleg. 13, 43—45 et iamb. 39, 21." The last is the passage we are now considering, there is no "traiectio" whatever at xxxiii 5, and what there is at xiii 43—45 is quite easy and there is no ambiguity about it. But the ambiguity here supposed is intolerable; even Ovid would have thought twice about it. On Theognis 401 Bergk himself says of a much milder case "haec verborum traiectio in antiquo poeta offendit." Nor is there any reason to insist on πῖαρ being a noun in the face of *Odyssey* ix 135, μάλα πῖαρ ὑπ' οὐδας, where πῖαρ is plainly an adjective. Then again, granting the order of the words, what do they mean? Any milk-maid could have told him that if you want to get cream out of milk you must not stir the milk but leave it to settle. Laval's centrifugal apparatus was not known in Solon's time.

But there is one merit about Bergk's view; it provides an accusative to ἀνταράξας. And that accusative is sorely wanted; it is really very difficult to believe that Solon could have said "stirring up—nothing, he extracted rich milk."

What then of πῦαρ? It looks like a genuine reading at first sight, and it provides the accusative required. The only question is whether it makes sense. Now πῦαρ signifies beestings, the first milk from the cow after calving, a substance very different from ordinary milk. It was considered a dainty by the Athenians and is so still in England, being sent round as a present in parts of the country. If it is left to settle a thick crust forms on the top, corresponding to cream in ordinary milk, which can be cut with a knife. And *if it is stirred up* the separation of this cream from the rest is effected more quickly. The milk left is valueless[1]. If Solon then said: "before he had stirred up the beestings and got out all the milk," he talked very good sense. It was a process he may have seen a dozen times, and with which he and his audience would be familiar.

[1] My authority is a farmer's wife; I wish I could find something on the subject in print.

If so, the phrase *ἐξεῖλεν γάλα* does not mean "had seized the tyranny" but simply "had carried the separation of the two elements to completion." An evil hearted and selfish man, had he been in Solon's place, would have magnified the people unduly and not have stopped the confusion till things had got into such a condition that they might be likened to beestings stirred up till the "cream" and milk were utterly separated. Whereas a good legislator wants to keep them mixed together, justly tempering the elements in the state. The bad man might have carried the confusion to the utmost that he might himself fish in troubled waters, but this is only implied, not positively stated.

A glance at the context will shew that this meaning suits it much better than the other. "The rich," says Solon, "would praise me, for if any other had been in my place he would have"—not made himself tyrant for that is not here the question, but have exalted the commons and utterly demolished the nobles. "But I," he goes on, "stood between the two parties," and kept them from one another's throat. There is no hint or suggestion of the tyranny in the whole passage.

'Aθ. Πολ. v. 7.

γινω...καί μοι φρενὸς ἔνδοθεν ἄλγεα κεῖται.

The correction is very simple and I cannot understand how it escaped us all in 1891. Read *κινεῦμαι*. Cf. *Medea* 99, *κινεῖ κραδίαν κινεῖ δὲ χόλον*. "My eyes are dim with childish tears, My heart is idly stirred."

'Aθ. Πολ. xii 21.

λοξὸν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρῶσι πάντες ὥστε δήϊον.
οὐ χρεών· ἃ μὲν γὰρ εἶπα κ.τ.λ.

Read *δήϊον, οὐ χρεών*, as *χρεών* is used absolutely by Herodotus. In the next line, [*ἄλλα δ' ο*]*ὐ μάτην ἔερδον, οὐ* is the reading of Aristides, and is not due to any one's conjecture. Why indeed *αὖ* should ever have been substituted for it by Schneider and adopted by Bergk is a mystery into which it is hard to penetrate.

xiii 37. *χώστις μὲν νούσοισιν ὑπ' ἀργαλέῃσι πιεσθῇ,*
ὡς ὑγιὴς ἔσται, τοῦτο κατεφράσατο·
41. *εἰ δέ τις ἀχρήμων πενίης δέ μιν ἔργα βιᾶται,*
κτήσασθαι πάντως χρήματα πολλὰ δοκεῖ.

(Lines 39 and 40 are justly ejected by Bergk; at any rate they are not concerned with the present note.) Bergk reads *κτήσεσθαι* in 42, "cum olim *κεκτῆσθαι* coniecissem; correctio necessaria, nam nimis ambiguus hic aoristus." By *κεκτῆσθαι* I presume that he meant "that he once had money," but now has it no longer. Plainly *κτήσεσθαι* is an improvement on that, but no correction of any kind is in reality needed. The idea that *κτήσασθαι* is wrong results from mistranslating 38. *ὡς ὑγιὴς ἔσται* does not mean "that he will be whole," in which case *κτήσασθαι* would have to mean "that he will get money," and Bergk's comment on the ambiguity would be justified. No, the whole runs thus. "Whoever is sore troubled with sickness devises a remedy that he may be whole (how he shall be), and so, if one is poor it seems good to him to get money by hook or by crook." So he goes on *σπεύδει δ' ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος· ὁ μὲν κατὰ πόντον ἀλᾶται, κ.τ.λ.* I think that Gesner saw the meaning when he restored *πάντως* in 42 for the *πάντων* of the MSS.

xxiv *ἶσόν τοι πλουτεῦσιν ὅτῳ πολὺς ἄργυρός ἐστιν*
καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ γῆς πυροφόρου πεδία
ἵπποι θ' ἡμίονοί τε, καὶ ᾧ τὰ δέοντα πάρεστιν
γαστρί τε καὶ πλευρῇς καὶ ποσὶν ἁβρὰ παθεῖν,
παιδός τ' ἠδὲ γυναικὸς †ἐπὴν καὶ ταῦτ' ἀφίκηται
ἥβη(ς) σὺν δ' ὥρῃ γίνεται ἁρμονία† κ.τ.λ.

This fragment occurs also in the Theognidea 719—24. I have printed the first four lines in what seems to me the best form, and see no reason for suspecting anything in them. But the next two are very difficult. The text of Theognis gives *ὅταν δέ κε τῶν ἀφίκηται ὥρη σὺν δ' ἥβη γίνεται ἁρμόδιον* (*ἁρμόδιος* dett.). Stobaeus quotes them from Theognis with variants *τῶνδ' ἀφίκηται* (*ἐφ-* one MS), and *ἁρμόδια* (*ἁρμονία* two MSS). Bergk reads: *ἐπὴν κατὰ ταῦτ' ἀφίκηται, ἥβης· σὺν δ' ὥρῃ γίνεται ἁρμόδια*, taking *ἁβρὰ παθεῖν παιδός τ' ἠδὲ γυναικὸς*

ἥβης together, as τῶν αὑτοῦ κτεάνων εὖ πασχέμεν at Theognis 1008. How he construes the rest I am fain to admit that I have not the slightest idea.

To take the words bit by bit, the variation between ἐπὴν and ὅταν suggests that the original was ἐπεί. The particle ἂν has intruded into Solon at several places. Thus at xiii 75 the genuine ὁπότε is preserved by Theognis 231 (ὁπόταν Solon's MSS), at xx 1 Thiersch is certainly right in correcting κἄν to καί, at xxxvi 10 ἂν looks suspicious, at xxxvi 21 ἀνταράξας was till recently read as ἂν ταράξας (though this last is hardly to the point).

Next the δέ κε of Theognis is plainly wrong for more reasons than one, so we had better stick to καὶ for the present. But is ταῦτ' or τῶν right after this? Either might be explained as a specious correction of the other; I do not see any ground for preferring either from a purely technical point of view; however I shall take τῶν because I see a way of construing the whole passage with it. (The τῶνδ' of Stobaeus might suggest τεῖνδ'; see Bergk's admirable note on Theognis 467; in that case we should have to read ἐπεὶ καὶ τεῖνδ' ἀφίκηται ἥβη, "when youth comes to that point.")

But I do not think that ἥβη was the first word in the pentameter. The authorities being equally balanced, it seems clear that ὥρη should be the first word and ἥβη or ἥβῃ the third. καὶ τῶν ὥρη = the season of these things, τῶν ἀφροδισίων. But καὶ τῶν ἥβη does not suit the passage; we do not want anything about the time when παῖς ἠδὲ γυνὴ come to their prime; there are always plenty of them in every stage; what we do want is something about the subject of the whole clause. The man who is comfortable γαστρὶ καὶ πλευρῇς καὶ ποσὶν must be so all his life, but he must also be well provided ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἀφροδισίων ὥρη ἀφίκηται. (The nominative, not the genitive, is far better supported by the evidence, and in my judgement indisputably right.) ὥρη then comes first.

Next σὺν δ' ἥβῃ, not ἥβη, must be read, until some instance of an independent σὺν can be produced from the elegiac poets. Finally the many variants for the last word point to some deep-seated corruption. I have very little doubt that what Solon

wrote was *ἁρπαλέα*, a word common enough in the elegiac poets and very liable to corruption; the variant *ἀργαλέος* as might be expected is often found. Compare Mimnermus i 4: *οἳ ἥβης ἄνθεα γίγνεται ἁρπαλέα ἀνδράσιν ἠδὲ γυναιξίν*, which is exactly like our present passage; we know that Solon was acquainted with the poetry of Mimnermus. *Trachiniae* 548: *ὧν ἀφαρπάζειν φιλεῖ ὀφθαλμὸς ἄνθος*, perhaps a reminiscence of Mimnermus. Solon xxv: *ἔσθ' ἥβης ἐρατοῖσιν ἐπ' ἄνθεσι παιδοφιλήσῃ*, where read *ἐν ἄνθεσι*, also resembles him.

The whole couplet then runs thus:

παιδός τ' ἠδὲ γυναικός, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἀφίκηται
ὥρη, σὺν δ' ἥβῃ γίνεται ἁρπαλέα,

the first words depending on *ἁβρὰ παθεῖν*, the rest meaning "when the season of these things also hath come, and they are desirable in the flush of youth."

As for the indicative *γίνεται*, it may either depend upon *ἐπεὶ* with a change of mood such as is often found in Homer (e.g. M 68, 69, P 62, 63) and after *ἐπεὶ* this is not violent; that *ἐπεὶ* is to be read for *ἐπὴν* I concluded on quite different grounds; or else it may be taken as a parenthetical clause, also in the Homeric manner.

xxxiii 5. *ἤθελον γάρ κεν κρατήσας, πλοῦτον ἄφθονον λαβών.*

κεν is found nowhere else in Solon, nor *κε* either, and why should he have used *κεν* here when in accordance with his system of versification he should have said *κε*? But it is for the sake of euphony. Then he would have said *ἄν*, if my ear be worth anything, and I believe he did. On the Ionizing of Solon's poems by the scribes see Prof. Weir Smyth's *Ionic Dialect* § 61, and they would consider *κεν* to be Ionic because it is Homeric.

NOTE.

The Article as a Relative.

"The Article," says Mr Monro (*H. G.* § 262), "when used as a Relative must *follow* the Noun or Pronoun to which it refers. The only exceptions are *Il.* 1. 125 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πολίων ἐξεπράθομεν, τὰ δέδασται. *Od.* 4. 349 (=17. 140) ἀλλὰ τὰ μέν μοι ἔειπε...τῶν κ.τ.λ. We may perhaps read ἀλλά θ' ἃ μέν."

Mr Monro of course alludes only to the Homeric usage here, but the principle extends beyond Homer himself, as doubtless he would agree. We shall see however that there seem to be a few exceptions, and I confess to differing from him with regard to ἀλλά θ' ἃ μέν. Homer might make an occasional exception, like other people, and there are many laws in language which are broken very occasionally. Especially it is to be noted that in the Homeric instances the article used as a relative is immediately followed by another *article* used as the demonstrative, τὰ and τῶν, not ταῦτα nor τούτων, and though it may be my own fancy, it does certainly strike me that this makes an appreciable difference. In the passage of Solon under consideration on the contrary τῶν is followed not by τῶν but by τούτων.

A similar law holds good with *that* as a relative in English; with regard to Shakespeare it is stated and illustrated at length by Dr Abbott in his *Shakespeare Grammar*. In English also it appears to me possible that we might say: "*That* we have done, *that* is done," much more easily than "*That* we have done, *these things* are done." But I admit at once that in the only place I know in English where *that* precedes its grammatical antecedent, it is not followed by another *that*. See *Psalm* civ 28: "That thou givest them, they gather," where indeed no noun follows at all.

But let us return to the Greek. The poetry above all others important to compare with Solon is the collection which goes under the name of Theognis, and in this we find an occasional exception to the rule. 256, τοῦ τις ἐρᾷ, τὸ τυχεῖν, but the reading is in the highest

degree uncertain. 383, τοὶ δ' ἀπὸ δειλῶν | ἔργων ἴσχονται θυμόν, ὅμως πενίην...ἔλαβον. The best MS has ἴσχοντες, "quod probavit Ahrens," and it is certainly right. 583, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν προβέβηκεν, ἀμήχανόν ἐστι γενέσθαι | ἄεργα· τὰ δ' ἐξοπίσω, τῶν φυλακὴ μελέτω. This seems a genuine reading, though all the MSS except the best (A) have τῇ φυλακῇ. Certainly these passages do not appear to me sufficient to warrant our importing such a very dubious idiom into Solon, apart from the other difficulties which follow in its train. Later on we find Pindar writing Ζεῦ πάτερ, τῶν μὰν ἔραται φρενὶ σιγᾷ ῾ϝοι στόμα (*Nem.* x 29). Herodotus has the idiom often enough—if we could only trust his text! e.g. τὰ δὲ τοῖσι Μιλησίοισι οὐ παρεοῦσι ἔχρησε, ἔχει ὧδε (vi 19). But have we not here the hyper-Ionic editor again at his nefarious work?

ARTHUR PLATT.

NOTES ON CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA.

[Most of the suggestions contained in this paper were communicated to the Cambridge Philological Society in 1892, 1893.]

paedagogus II ii 34 = 187 P. *οὕτω τούτων ὁ ἐγκέφαλος ἄνωθεν ἰλιγγιάσας ὑπὸ μέθης ἐπὶ τὸ ἧπαρ καὶ τὴν καρδίαν, τουτέστιν ἐπὶ τὴν φιληδονίαν καὶ τὸν θυμὸν, καταπίπτει πτῶμα μεῖζον, ᾗ φασὶ ποιητῶν παῖδες πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς τὸν Ἥφαιστον οὐρανόθεν ἐρρίφθαι χαμαί.* For *πτῶμα μεῖζον, ᾗ φασὶ*, read *πτῶμα μεῖζον ἤ φασι.*

II x 85 = 222 P. *πόρον δὲ οὐδένα ἔχει τοῦτο τῆς σαρκὸς τὸ σχῆμα εἴς τι χρειῶδες ἀπολῆγον ἢ εἰς μήτραν ἢ εἰς ἀπηυθυσμένον λέγω.* For *ἀπολῆγον ἢ εἰς* read *ἀπολήγον<τα>, ἢ εἰς.*

II x 87 = 222 P. *μόνη δὲ ἄρα ἐπὶ τῶν ὑαινῶν ἡ ποικίλη φύσις ταῖς ὀχείαις ταῖς περιτταῖς μόριόν τι τοῦτο ἐπινενόηκεν περιττόν.* For *μόνη δὲ ἄρα ἐπὶ τῶν ὑαινῶν*, read *μόνων δ' ἄρα ἐπὶ τῶν ὑαινῶν.*

II x 89 = 224 P. *δεῖγμα ἐναργὲς τοῦτο λαγνείας ἐπικάρπιον τὸ πῦρ ὑπογράφοντες.* Read perhaps for *τοῦτο, τοῦ τὸ.*

II x 97 = 228 P. *εἰ γὰρ σεμνότητα ἀσκητέον, ὥσπερ οὖν πολὺ πλέον τῇ γυναικὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ τὴν σεμνότητα ἐπιδεικτέον τὰς ἀσχήμονας συμπλοκὰς παραιτούμενον.* Read perhaps *εἰ γὰρ σεμνότητα ἀσκητέον, ὥσπερ οὖν <ἀσκητέον>, πολὺ πλέον κτλ.*

stromata I i 3 = 317 P. *ἤδη δὲ καταφαίνεται ἐκ περιουσίας ὁ σωτὴρ αὐτὸς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ λαμβάνοντος δύναμιν, ἣ δὴ ἐκ συνασκήσεως αὔξειν τοῖς δούλοις τὰ ὑπάρχοντα διανείμας, αὖθις ἐπανελθὼν τιθέναι λόγον μετ' αὐτῶν, ὁπηνίκα κτλ.* The ob-

scurity of this sentence is caused by the words *ἢ δὴ ἐκ συνασκήσεως αὔξειν*. Read *ἣν δεῖ ἐκ συνασκήσεως αὔξειν*, placing a comma after *αὔξειν* to show that the clause is parenthetical. For the phraseology, compare II vi 26 *ἐκ συνασκήσεως ηὐξηκόσι τοῦτο*, sc. *τὸ δύνασθαι*, quoted by Professor Robinson, and I iv 26 ad finem *συναύξει δὲ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ἡ εἰς ἐπιστήμην συνάσκησις*.

I i 14 = 324 P. *ἡ μὲν οὖν τῶνδέ μοι τῶν ὑπομνημάτων γραφὴ ἀσθενὴς μὲν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι παραβαλλομένη πρὸς τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκεῖνο τὸ κεχαριτωμένον, οὗ κατηξιώθημεν ὑπακοῦσαι, εἰκὼν δ' ἂν εἴη ἀναμιμνήσκουσα τοὺς ἀρχετύπους τὸν θύρσῳ πεπληγότα*. It is obvious to write *ἀναμιμνῄσκουσα τοῦ ἀρχετύπου*.

I v 30 = 333 P. Remove the colon after *τῇ κοσμικῇ παιδείᾳ*, that this dative may not be separated from the verb *συνευνασθῆναι* which governs it: enclose the interpretations of Ἀβραάμ and Αἴγυπτος within marks of parenthesis: and write *αὐτῇ* for *αὐτῇ* before *προσελθόντα*. The sentence will then run—*ἡ σοφία τοίνυν ἡ τῷ πιστῷ σύνοικος (πιστὸς δὲ ἐλογίσθη Ἀβραὰμ καὶ δίκαιος) στεῖρα ἦν ἔτι καὶ ἄτεκνος κατὰ τὴν γενεὰν ἐκείνην, μηδέπω μηδὲν ἐνάρετον ἀποκυήσασα τῷ Ἀβραάμ, ἠξίου δὲ εἰκότως τὸν ἤδη καιρὸν ἔχοντα προκοπῆς τῇ κοσμικῇ παιδείᾳ (Αἴγυπτος δὲ ὁ κόσμος ἀλληγορεῖται) συνευνασθῆναι πρότερον, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ αὐτῇ προσελθόντα κατὰ τὴν θείαν πρόνοιαν γεννῆσαι τὸν Ἰσαάκ*.

I vi 35 = 336 P. *εἰ δ' ἡ ἄγνοια ἀπαιδευσία τε ἅμα καὶ ἀμαθία τὴν ἐπιστήμην τῶν θείων καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων ἐντίθησι τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν πενίᾳ κτλ*. For *ἐντίθησι τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ* read *ἐντίθησιν ἡ διδασκαλία*, and put a full stop after these words. Compare I i 4 = 318 P, where Bywater similarly corrects *τῇ δὲ αἰτίᾳ τοῦ μὴ τὸ βέλτιστον ἑλομένου θεὸς ἀναίτιος*.

I viii 42 = 341 P. *τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐψεῦσθαι κτλ*. The foundation of these sentences is *republic* III 412 E. They are partly summary, partly transcript, and Clement has made additions of his own. The opening sentence *τὸ μὲν ἐψεῦσθαι κτλ* is a quotation slightly modified and does not call for remark. The second is a summary, to which the words *καὶ μὴ πιστεύσαντες* are appended. That is to say, besides the *κλαπέντες γοητευ-*

θέντες and βιαζόμενοι of Plato's enumeration, Clement recognizes as a distinct class "those who refuse to believe." The opening words of the next sentence, ὁ μὲν δὴ πιστεύσας ἑκὼν ἤδη παραναλίσκεται, are the property of Clement, and presumably refer to the concluding words of the preceding sentence. But plainly it is "one who refuses to believe," not "one who believes," who ἑκὼν παραναλίσκεται. Read then, instead of δή, μή: "the man who refuses to believe"—who in the preceding sentence has been distinguished from Plato's three types—"wilfully throws himself away." The words which follow, κλέπτεται δὲ ὁ μεταπεισθεὶς ἐκλαθόμενος, represent Plato's κλαπέντας μὲν γὰρ τοὺς μεταπεισθέντας λέγω καὶ τοὺς ἐπιλανθανομένους: but as Clement proceeds to cite Plato's discrimination of μεταπεισθέντας and ἐπιλανθανομένους, it would seem that either ἢ or καὶ ὁ should be inserted after μεταπεισθείς. In the fourth sentence Clement adds of himself φιλονεικία τε αὖ καὶ θυμός, and our text gives μετὰ τὸ δοξάσαι in place of μεταδοξάσαι or τὸ μεταδοξάσαι which he borrowed from Plato. The clause which stands next is mostly citation. The words which follow, πᾶσαι δὲ ἑκούσιοι τροπαί, are no doubt intended to represent the beginning of Plato's passage: but that they may do so, ἀκούσιοι must take the place of ἑκούσιοι. For Plato says explicitly that κλοπή, γοητεία, and βία, are the three ways in which men δοκοῦσιν ἄκοντες ἀληθοῦς δόξης στερίσκεσθαι: and that Clement has not misconceived his original is clear, as he manifestly opposes the μὴ πιστεύσας who ἑκὼν παραναλίσκεται to the κλαπέντες γοητευθέντες and βιαζόμενοι of Plato. Finally, Plato's use of the words ἐκβάλλουσιν and ἐκβολή at the outset of the passage suggests that the concluding words in Clement should run—καὶ τούτων οὐδὲν ἄν ποτε ἐπιστήμην ἐκβάλοι. That is to say, Clement affirms that, while in these ways opinion may be perverted, knowledge cannot be lost. Read then—ὁ μὲν μὴ πιστεύσας ἑκὼν ἤδη παραναλίσκεται· κλέπτεται δὲ ὁ μεταπεισθεὶς <ἢ> ἐκλαθόμενος, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ὁ χρόνος τῶν δὲ ὁ λόγος ἐξαιρούμενος λανθάνει, βιάζεταί τε πολλάκις ὀδύνη τε καὶ ἀλγηδὼν φιλονεικία τε αὖ καὶ θυμὸς μετα[το]δοξάσαι, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι γοητεύονται οἱ ἤτοι ὑφ' ἡδονῆς κηληθέντες ἢ ὑπὸ φόβων δείσαντες·

πᾶσαι δὲ ἀκούσιοι τροπαί, καὶ τούτων οὐδὲν ἄν ποτε ἐπιστήμη<ν> ἐκβάλοι[1].

I ix 44 = 342 P. ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὸν βίον ἀναφέρων ἕκαστα τὸν ὀρθὸν ἔκ τε τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν ὑποδείγματα κομίζων, πολύπειρος οὗτος τῆς ἀληθείας ἰχνευτὴς καὶ τῷ ὄντι πολύμητις δίκην τῆς βασάνου λίθου. ἥδ' ἐστὶ Λυδὴ διακρίνειν πεπιστευμένη τὸ νόθον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰθαγενοῦς χρυσίου. Sylburg has attempted to bring the concluding sentence into harmony with its antecedents by dividing ἥδ' into ἡ δ': but it can hardly be doubted that the commonplace explanation of βάσανος is an intrusive gloss.

I xxvii 173 = 423 P. ὥστε καὶ ὅταν ἀνηκέστῳ τινὶ κακῷ περιπέσῃ τις ὑπό τε ἀδικίας καὶ πλεονεξίας καταληφθείς, εὐεργετοῖτ' ἂν ὁ ἀποκτιννύμενος. Bracket the article before ἀποκτιννύμενος.

II iv 15 = 436 P. οἱ δὲ ἄπιστοι, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀοράτου πάντα ἕλκουσιν εἰς γῆν ταῖς χερσὶν ἀτεχνῶς πέτρας καὶ δρῦς περιλαμβάνοντες κατὰ τὸν Πλάτωνα· τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων ἐφαπτόμενοι πάντων διισχυρίζονται τοῦτ' εἶναι μόνον, ὅπερ ἔχει προσβολὴν καὶ ἐπαφήν τινα, ταὐτὸν σῶμα καὶ οὐσίαν ὁριζόμενοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀμφισβητοῦντες μάλα εὐλαβῶς ἄνωθεν ἐξ ἀοράτου ποθὲν ἀμύνονται νοητὰ ἄττα καὶ ἀσώματα εἴδη, βιαζόμενοι τὴν ἀληθινὴν οὐσίαν εἶναι. This passage is made up of two sentences from Plato's *sophist* 246 A—C. The first, which describes the earth-born materialists, ends at σῶμα καὶ οὐσίαν ὁριζόμενοι: the second, which describes their opponents, the εἰδῶν φίλοι, begins at πρὸς αὐτούς; and the persons spoken of in the second sentence as αὐτούς are the γηγενεῖς of the first. To clear up the confusion—(1) where the text of Clement gives ὅπερ ἔχει προσβολήν, restore from Plato ὃ παρέχει προσβολήν, (2) interpose between ὁριζόμενοι and πρὸς αὐτοὺς some such words as οἱ δὲ or οἱ πιστοὶ δ' οἱ, (3) remove the comma before βιαζόμενοι, which separates the words νοητὰ ἄττα καὶ ἀσώματα εἴδη from the clause to which they belong.

II v 21 = 439 P. βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ παίδων ἀπείρων ἔτι καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀπιστούντων καὶ ἀγνοούντων ἀναγορευόμενος

[1] Cobet, Λόγιος Ἑρμῆς pp. 528, 529 anticipates me in writing μὴ πιστεύσας and μεταδοξάσαι, but he does not touch the other difficulties here noted.

καὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν προφητῶν ἀνακηρυττόμενος δείκνυται. Read *πρὸς αὖ τῶν προφητῶν.*

II v 22 = 439 P. *τίς δ' ἂν τούτου εὐγενέστερος, οὗ μόνος πατὴρ ὁ θεός;* The sense requires, not *μόνος*, but *μόνου.*

II v 22 = 440 P. . . . *κατά γε τὸ δικαιότατον ἦθος ταύτῃ ἂν καλοὺς εἶναι* . . . . Though this quotation from *laws* 859 D ff does not agree in all its details with the text of Plato, I think that *ἂν καλοὺς* is a mistake for *παγκάλους.*

II v 23 = 441 P. *παρὰ τὴν μεγίστην ἀρετὴν ἀποβλέπων μάλιστα σταθήσεται τοὺς νόμους.* These words occur in a quotation from Plato's *laws* 630 B ff, where the received text has *πρὸς τὴν μεγίστην ἀρετὴν μάλιστα βλέπων ἀεὶ θήσει τοὺς νόμους.* Potter restores *πρὸς* for *παρά*, and Cobet, followed by Bywater and J. B. Mayor, expunges the first syllable of *σταθήσεται* as a dittograph of the last syllable of *μάλιστα.* Further, Potter would write, for *σταθήσεται*, *θήσει.* I think that *μάλιστα σταθήσεται* represents *μάλιστα θήσει ἀεί*: in other words, that in this citation Plato's *ἀεί* has been, not dropped, but transposed.

II vii 34 = 447 P. The editors give a full stop after *ἐνέργειαι*, eleven lines from the beginning of the section, and another after *κακά*, three lines further. It is consequently worth while to remark that the protasis, begun with the section, has its apodosis in the sentence *πῶς οὖν ἔτι οὐκ ἀγαθός* κτλ at line 14. Punctuate accordingly, and interpose a comma after *νόσον ψυχῆς.*

II xv 68 = 465 P. *δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως τριῶν ἀποδοχὴν ἁμαρτίας τρόπων διδάσκειν ὁ νομοθέτης, τῶν μὲν ἐν λόγῳ διὰ τῶν ἰχθύων τῶν ἀναύδων· ἔστι γὰρ τῷ ὄντι οὗ σιγὴ λόγου διαφέρει· "ἔστι καὶ σιγῆς ἀκίνδυνον γέρας"· τῶν δὲ ἐν ἔργῳ διὰ τῶν ἁρπακτικῶν καὶ σαρκοβόρων ὀρνέων, χοῖρος βορβόρῳ ἥδεται καὶ κόπρῳ· καὶ χρὴ μηδὲ "τὴν συνείδησιν" ἔχειν "μεμολυσμένην."* Potter comments upon *καὶ χρὴ* κτλ. as follows: "Tertium peccati genus innuit, quod in animo consistit. Vult enim tribus modis peccari, sermone, opere, cogitatione." This is no doubt a correct statement of Clement's meaning: but that meaning is not expressed by the traditional text. There is a lacuna, and the lacuna precedes the words

χοῖρος βορβόρῳ ἥδεται καὶ κόπρῳ, which in the editions are left stranded. Read then perhaps after ὀρνέων, <τῶν δ' ἐν νῷ διὰ> χοίρ<ου> ὃς βορβόρῳ ἥδεται καὶ κόπρῳ. Compare § 67.

II xviii 86 = 473 P. ἔν τε αὐτῇ τρυγῇ τὸ ἐπιέναι πάλιν τὰ καταλειφθέντα δρεπομένους καὶ τὸ τὰς ἀποπιπτούσας ῥῶγας συλλέγειν κεκώλυκεν. Read ἔν τε αὖ τῇ τρύγῃ.

II xix 100 = 482 P. Πλάτων δὲ ὁ φιλόσοφος εὐδαιμονίας τέλος τιθέμενος ὁμοίωσιν θεῷ φησιν αὐτὴν εἶναι κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν. We want, I think, not εὐδαιμονίας, but εὐδαιμονίαν. Compare II xxii 131 = 499 P.

II xix 102 = 483 P. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος εὐεργετῶν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ αὐτὸς εὐεργετεῖται· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ κυβερνήτης ἅμα σώζει καὶ σώζεται. διὰ τοῦτο ὅταν τις αἰτῶν τύχῃ, οὗ φησι τῷ διδόντι "καλῶς ἔδωκας," ἀλλὰ "καλῶς εἴληφας." οὕτω λαμβάνει μὲν ὁ διδούς, δίδωσι δὲ ὁ λαμβάνων. I fancy that the last two paragraphs have changed places, and that we ought to read ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ κυβερνήτης ἅμα σῴζει καὶ σῴζεται, οὕτω λαμβάνει μὲν ὁ διδούς, δίδωσι δὲ ὁ λαμβάνων. διὰ τοῦτο ὅταν τις αἰτῶν τύχῃ, κτλ.

II xx 103 = 484 P. ἥ γε μὴν καρτερία καὶ αὐτὴ εἰς τὴν θείαν ἐξομοίωσιν βιάζεται, δι' ὑπομονῆς ἀπάθειαν καρπουμένη, εἴ τῳ ἔναυλα τὰ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀνανίαν ἱστορούμενα, ὧν εἷς καὶ Δανιὴλ ὁ προφήτης ἦν θείας πίστεως πεπληρωμένος.

The general import of this passage is unmistakable, and nearly all its details can be justified from Clement's writings. But what is the meaning of τὰ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀνανίαν ἱστορούμενα? Potter's version—"ea quae narrantur de Anania"—serves only to mark the difficulty; and when he refers us to I xxi 123 = 392 P. τῇ εἰκόνι λατρεῦσαι μὴ θελήσαντες Μισαὴλ Ἀνανίας τε καὶ Ἀζαρίας, we reflect that, if one of the three was to be chosen for special mention, it should be, not Ananias, but Azarias. Now at V vi 35 = 667 P. we have the words τά τε ἐπὶ τῆς ἁγίας κιβωτοῦ ἱστορούμενα μηνύει τὰ τοῦ νοητοῦ κόσμου, which, while they justify the *general* form of the questionable phrase, emphasize the need of a genitive after ἐπί. Furthermore, the ὧν which follows, having at present no proper antecedent, suggests that the singular Ἀνανίαν has taken the place of a plural. In this way I am led to conjecture that τὸν

'Ανανίαν represents *τῶν* $\bar{\Delta}$ *νεανιῶν*; in other words, that the sentence should run—*εἴ τῳ ἔναυλα τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν τεττάρων νεανιῶν ἱστορούμενα, ὧν εἷς καὶ Δανιὴλ κτλ*, the four youths being, as in Daniel i 17, Daniel, Ananias, Misael, Azarias. I may add that Dindorf's punctuation of the sentences which follow is faulty, that in particular at the end of § 103 a comma should be substituted for a full stop, and that in the 7th line of § 104 *διαμενεῖ* should take the place of *διαμένει*. Three lines further on, *οὗτος τὸν σταυρὸν τοῦ σωτῆρος περιφέρων ἕπεται κυρίῳ μετ' ἴχνιον ὥστε θεὸς ἅγιος ἁγίων γενόμενος*, Dindorf points out the imitation of *Odyssey* ii 406 &c, *ὁ δ' ἕπειτα μετ' ἴχνια βαῖνε θεοῖο*. He might have added that Clement's misquotation is anticipated by, and probably derived from, *Phaedrus* 266 B *τοῦτον διώκω κατόπισθε μετ' ἴχνιον ὥστε θεοῖο*. Indeed I fancy that in this place *θεός* is a corruption of Plato's *θεοῖο*.

II xx 124, 125 = 494 P. *τῷ γοῦν βουληθῆναι γνησίως φιλοσοφεῖν ὅλους αὑτοὺς φέροντες ἀνέθεσαν τῷ θεῷ καὶ εἰς πίστιν ἐλογίσθησαν.* 125. *καλῶς ὁ Ζήνων ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἔλεγεν κτλ.* That the phrase *ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην*, which occurs in Genesis xv 6 and Romans iv 3, 9, and is quoted by Clement at II vi 28, V i 4, VI xii 103, is the origin of *εἰς πίστιν ἐλογίσθησαν*, is plain: but the plural *ἐλογίσθησαν* is very strange. Read therefore *καὶ εἰς πίστιν ἐλογίσθη. παγκάλως ὁ Ζήνων κτλ.* Παγκάλως is one of Clement's favourite words. Compare for example V i 8 *παγκάλως γοῦν Ἱερεμίας φησὶ κτλ.* V xi 75 *παγκάλως τοίνυν καὶ ὁ Εὐριπίδης συνᾴδει τούτοις κτλ.*

II xxiii 143, 144 = 505, 506 P. 143. *Εὐχὴν οὖν μεγίστην καὶ Ὅμηρος τίθεται "ἄνδρα τε καὶ οἶκον," ἀλλ' οὐχ ἁπλῶς, μετὰ ὁμοφροσύνης δὲ τῆς ἐσθλῆς. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων γάμος ἐφ' ἡδυπαθείᾳ ὁμονοεῖ, ὁ δὲ τῶν φιλοσοφούντων ἐπὶ τὴν κατὰ λόγον ὁμόνοιαν ἄγει, ὁ μὴ τὸ εἶδος, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἦθος ἐπιτρέπων ταῖς γυναιξὶ κοσμεῖσθαι μηδ' ὡς ἐρωμέναις χρῆσθαι ταῖς γαμεταῖς προστάττων τοῖς ἀνδράσι σκοπὸν πεποιημένοις τὴν τῶν σωμάτων ὕβριν, ἀλλ' εἰς βοήθειαν παντὸς τοῦ βίου καὶ τὴν ἀρίστην σωφροσύνην περιποιεῖσθαι τὸν γάμον. πυρῶν γὰρ οἶμαι καὶ κριθῶν τε αὖ κατὰ τοὺς οἰκείους καιροὺς καταβαλλομένων σπερ-*

μάτων τιμιώτερός ἐστιν ὁ σπειρόμενος ἄνθρωπος, ᾧ πάντα φύεται, κἀκεῖνά γε καὶ νήφοντες καταβάλλουσι τὰ σπέρματα οἱ γεωργοί. πᾶν οὖν εἴ τι ῥυπαρὸν καὶ μεμολυσμένον ἐπιτήδευμα ἀφαγνιστέον τοῦ γάμου, ὡς μὴ ὀνειδισθείημεν τὴν τῶν ἀλόγων ζῴων σύνοδον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης συζυγίας συνᾴδουσαν τῇ φύσει μᾶλλον κατὰ τὸν ὁμολογούμενον θορονθορόν. 144. *τὰ γοῦν ἔνια αὐτῶν ᾧ κελεύεται καιρῷ εὐθέως ἀπαλλάττεται καταλιπόντα τὴν δημιουργίαν τῇ διοικήσει, τοῖς τραγῳδοποιοῖς δὲ ἡ Πολυξένη κτλ.*

The first half of § 143 is deformed by the full stop after *ἐσθλῆς*. The sentence *ὁ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων—ὁμόνοιαν ἄγει* is a parenthetical justification or explanation of the epithet *ἐσθλήν* by which, *Odyssey* vi 182, *ὁμοφροσύνην* is qualified: and the words *ὁ μὴ τὸ εἶδος ἀλλὰ τὸ ἦθος κτλ* are in apposition, not to *ὁ τῶν φιλοσοφούντων γάμος*, but to *Ὅμηρος*. To make sense of the concluding words of § 143 and the opening words of § 144, put a full stop after *διοικήσει*, and, without the alteration of a single letter, read—*ὡς μὴ ὀνειδισθείημεν τὴν τῶν ἀλόγων ζῴων σύνοδον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης συζυγίας συνᾴδουσαν τῇ φύσει μᾶλλον κατὰ τὸν ὁμολογούμενον θ' ὅρον. θορόντα γοῦν ἔνια αὐτῶν ᾧ κελεύεται καιρῷ εὐθέως ἀπαλλάττεται καταλιπόντα τὴν δημιουργίαν τῇ διοικήσει*: "that it might not be a reproach to us that the congress of irrational animals is more consonant with nature and more consistent with the recognized definition than the union of human beings. Certainly some of them spawn at the appointed time and go their way, leaving to providence the development of the offspring."

IV iii 8 = 566 P. *πόλλ' ἀπιστία δέδρακεν ἀγαθά, πίστις κακά.* "Legendum videtur, *πόλλ' ἀπιστία | δέδρακεν ἀγαθά, πολλὰ δ' αὖ πίστις κακά.*" Sylburg. Rather insert *καὶ* before *πίστις* and complete the trochaic.

V xi 74 = 690 P. *καὶ μὴ ἀποστατεῖν τῶν ὄντων, πρὶν ἐπαναβαίνων ἐπὶ τὰ ὑπερκείμενα αὐτῷ ὅ ἐστιν ἀγαθὸν αὐτῇ νοήσει λάβῃ, ἐπ' αὐτῷ γινόμενος τῷ τοῦ νοητοῦ τέλει κατὰ Πλάτωνα.* For *αὐτῷ ὅ ἐστιν ἀγαθόν*, read *αὐτὸ ὃ ἔστιν ἀγαθόν.*

V xiv 92 = 701 P. *πότερον ἦν ἀρχὴν ἔχων γενέσεως οὐδεμίαν ἢ γέγονεν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τινὸς ἀρξάμενος; ὁρατός τε γὰρ ὢν ἁπτός ἐστιν, ἁπτός τε ὢν καὶ σῶμα ἔχει.* Though this quotation

from *Timaeus* 28 B differs in some respects from the ordinary text, it is obvious to suppose that the omission of γέγονεν between ἀρξάμενος and ὁρατός is accidental.

VI v 39 = 759 P. καὶ ὡς μὲν κλέπται πάσης γραφῆς Ἕλληνες εἵρηνται ἱκανῶς, οἶμαι, διὰ πλειόνων δέδεικται τεκμηρίων. Clement has been trying to show, not that the Greeks are *affirmed* to have stolen from the scriptures, but that they have actually done so. Hence for εἵρηνται read ἧρηνται.

VI xvii 159 = 823 P. λείπεται δὴ θεοῦ [sc. ἔργον εἶναι τὴν φιλοσοφίαν], οὗ μόνον τὸ ἀγαθύνειν ἔργον ἐστὶν, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα παρὰ θεοῦ δίδοται, καλῶς δίδοταί τε καὶ λαμβάνεται. ναὶ μὴν ἡ χρῆσις τῆς φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἔστιν ἂν κακῶν, ἀλλ' ἢ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων δέδοται. δῆλον καὶ ὅθεν δεδώρηται, παρὰ τῆς κατ' ἀξίαν τὰ προσήκοντα ἑκάστοις ἀπονεμούσης δηλονότι προνοίας. On οὐκ ἔστιν ἂν κακῶν, Dindorf comments as follows: "Haec vel corrupta vel defecta esse ἂν particula ostendit absurde illata. Nec proxima δῆλον καὶ ὅθεν recte sunt adiuncta, pro quo δῆλον δὲ καὶ expectes, nisi haec praecedentium verborum apodosis est." I conjecture ναὶ μὴν ἡ χρῆσις τῆς φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἔστι παγκάκων· ἀλλ' ἢ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων δέδοται, δῆλον καὶ ὅθεν δεδώρηται, κτλ. Compare II v 22 = 440 P., and II xx 124 = 494 P. where παγκάλους and παγκάλως seem to have undergone corruption.

VII iv 22 = 841 P. αὐτίκα βάρβαροι οἱ μὲν θηριώδεις καὶ ἀγρίους τὰ ἤθη, ἡμερωτέρους δὲ Ἕλληνες πλὴν ἐμπαθεῖς. Bracket οἱ after βάρβαροι. In the sentences which precede this extract, the words Αἰθίοπές τε μέλανας σιμούς τε, Θρᾷκές τε πυρροὺς καὶ γλαυκούς are commonly supposed to be Xenophanes', and Dindorf goes so far as to place them in inverted commas. I should have thought that they were rather to be regarded as a later amplification of καί κε θεῶν ἰδέας ἔγραφον κτλ. That the attempt to discover in them "versuum vestigia" entails serious difficulties, appears clearly in Karsten's restoration, p. 40.

HENRY JACKSON.

October 1895.

A 531 *τώ γ' ὡς βουλεύσαντε διέτμαγεν· ἡ μὲν ἔπειτα*
εἰς ἄλα ἅλτο βαθεῖαν ἀπ' αἰγλήεντος Ὀλύμπου,
Ζεὺς δὲ ἑὸν πρὸς δῶμα.

The bare suggestion, that *ἅλτο* could be used to describe the movement of the supreme ruler of Olympus, is not for a moment tolerable, yet the zeugma, our only remaining resource, is of the harshest. Nor indeed is zeugma by any means a common Homeric figure. It is more or less foreign to the simple directness of epic diction. In the not infrequent examples of a plural or dual subject, afterwards divided into its components, as here, each minor subject is, as a rule, provided with its own special verb. This is so, even when these verbs are synonymous or, in some instances, quite identical, as witness *θ* 360, *σ* 95, Ω 509, H 306.

I freely admit, that the text of Homer should not be lightly tampered with; but the necessities of the case in the present instance would be met by so slight an alteration, involving only the change of a single letter, that I have little hesitation in proposing my emendation:—

Ζεὺς δ' ἴε ἑὸν πρὸς δῶμα.

or the old division of the letters may be adhered to more closely, thus:—

Ζεὺς δ' ἴ' ἑὸν πρὸς δῶμα.

"Zeus *went* to his own house."

*

Δ 22 = Θ 459 *ἦ τοι Ἀθηναίη ἀκέων ἦν οὐδέ τι εἶπεν.*
Read

ἦ τοι Ἀθηναίη μὲν ἀκὴν ἔεν οὐδέ τι εἶπεν.

Doubtless *ἔεν* is the correct form, but it is probable that the corruption occurred after the introduction of *ἦν* into the written texts. *ἀκὴν ἦν*, ΑΚΕΝΕΝ, might readily lose one of the repeated syllables. Then the adverb would be represented by nothing but *ἀκ*, which unfortunately has been completed into *ἀκέων*, and *μέν* having thereby become metrically superfluous has disappeared altogether.

Now this word *ἀκέων* requires consideration. Excluding the present passages it occurs in Homer sixteen times. *ἀκέων* (nom. sing. masc.) is found ten times, *ἀκέουσα* three times and *ἀκέοντα* (acc. sing. masc.) twice. There remains one place, *ϕ* 89 *ἀλλ' ἀκέων δαίνυσθε καθήμενοι*, where it must be taken as an adverb, or as indeclinable. I venture to say that there need be little hesitation in reading there *ἀλλ' ἄνεῳ δαίνυσθε*.

ἄνεῳ itself occurs seven times with a plural verb, once only (*ψ* 93 *ἡ δ' ἄνεω δὴν ἧστο*) with a singular verb. This passage apparently caused Aristarchus to regard it as an adverb. Few would refuse now to restore *ἄνεως* in the single recalcitrant line, especially as it is already supplied with one adverb in *δήν*.

From the facts above stated it seems permissible to infer, that *ἀκέων* in the two lines under discussion is certainly wrong in point of grammar. The more correct *ἀκέουσα* would not account for the corruption, and it becomes necessary to see, if the usage of the true adverb *ἀκήν* would support its introduction here. Compare accordingly:—

Δ 429 *οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἀκὴν ἵσαν, οὐδέ κε φαίης*
β 82 = δ 285 *ἔνθ' ἄλλοι μὲν πάντες ἀκὴν ἔσαν, οὐδέ τις ἔτλη*
ϕ 239, 385 *ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἀκὴν ἔμεναι παρὰ ἔργῳ.*

οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ occurs thirteen times (Γ 95 &c., &c.).

It is certainly worth noticing that only once (Δ 429) is *ἀκήν* used in combination with any other verb than *εἰμι* or *γίγνομαι*,

whereas, except in the instances I impugn, *ἀκέων* is never found with either of those verbs. There is therefore a strong presumption in favour of *ἀκήν* here, arising from this peculiarity of usage.

It now remains to be seen, whether there is any justification for the insertion of *μέν* after *Ἀθηναίη*; and again the appeal must be to Homeric usage. It is almost superfluous to remark, that (24) *Ἥρῃ δέ* answers, or would answer, to *Ἀθηναίῃ μέν*. Our first instance is close at hand:

Δ 13 *ἀλλ' ἦ τοι νίκη μὲν ἀρηιφίλου Μενελάου·*
ἡμεῖς δὲ κτλ.
I 701 *ἀλλ' ἦ τοι κεῖνον μὲν ἐάσομεν.* = *ξ* 183, cf. *γ* 195.
A 211 *ἀλλ' ἦ τοι ἔπεσιν μὲν ὀνείδισον, ὡς ἔσεταί περ.*
Θ 35 = 466 *ἀλλ' ἦ τοι πολέμου μὲν ἀφεξόμεθ', ὡς σὺ κελεύεις.*
M 141 *οἱ δ' ἦ τοι τείως μὲν ἐυκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς. γ* 126.
Ω 71 *ἀλλ' ἦ τοι κλέψαι μὲν ἐάσομεν.*
γ 236 *ἀλλ' ἦ τοι θάνατον μὲν ὁμοίιον οὐδὲ θεοί περ.*
ε 154 *ἀλλ' ἦ τοι νύκτας μὲν ἰαύεσκεν καὶ ἀνάγκῃ.*
μ 86 *τῆς ἦ τοι φωνὴ μὲν ὅση σκύλακος νεογιλῆς.*
426 *ἔνθ' ἦ τοι Ζέφυρος μὲν ἐπαύσατο λαίλαπι θύων.*
ξ 171 *ἀλλ' ἦ τοι ὅρκον μὲν ἐάσομεν, αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς.*
ο 488 *ἀλλ' ἦ τοι σοὶ μὲν παρὰ καὶ κακῷ ἐσθλὸν ἔθηκε.*

The list might be considerably extended. We have *ἦ τοι ὁ μέν* frequently. But the association of *μέν* with *ἦ τοι* is already abundantly clear. Nor is it necessary to adduce further evidence for the validity of the emendation. He must indeed be a very ardent lover of legitimate hiatus, who would still prefer the vulgate.

*

E 485 *τύνη δ' ἔστηκας, ἀτὰρ οὐδ' ἄλλοισι κελεύεις*

No one will venture to deny the singularity of this lengthening of the final syllable of *ἔστηκας* before *ἀτάρ*. But should it be defended by a comparison with such a line as

Δ 542 *χειρὸς ἑλοῦσ', αὐτὰρ βελέων ἀπερύκοι ἐρωήν,*

where La Roche without the support of a single MS. (Dr Leaf says with one MS.; but E means Eustathius) reads *ἑλοῦσα,*

ἀτάρ, I may remark, that even Dr Leaf, who follows La Roche so far as the hiatus is concerned, denies that *ἀτάρ* ever began with a consonant. Certainly Ψ 104 *εἴδωλον* (sic) *ἀτάρ*, which La R. quotes (on Δ 542), along with E 287 and the present passage, is a curious slip in scansion, as a reference to the passage will show. With regard to E 287 *οὐδ' ἔτυχες· ἀτὰρ* the true reading is probably *ἐκίχης*, or if the form be preferred, *ἐκίχεις*.

I believe in regard to the line now under consideration that we have to deal with a case of loss arising from the repetition of similar letters, dittography as it is called. Instead of ΕCΤΕΚΑC ΑΤΑΡ the original was ΕCΤΕΚΑC ΕΚΑC. The introduction of *ἀτάρ* was rendered possible, we may almost say necessary, by the accidental or mistaken omission of the second ΕΚΑC. Read therefore

τύνη δ' ἔστηκας ἑκὰς, οὐδ' ἄλλοισι κελεύεις

For confirmation let us turn to:—

N 263 *ἀνδρῶν δυσμενέων ἑκὰς ἱστάμενος πολεμίζειν·*

and the still more exact and conclusive parallel,

Υ 354 *μηκέτι νῦν Τρώων ἑκὰς ἕστατε, δῖοι Ἀχαιοί.*

*

E 554 *οἵω τώ γε λέοντε δύω ὄρεος κορυφῇσιν*
ἐτραφέτην κτλ.
559 *τοίω τὼ χείρεσσιν ὕπ'.*

The difficulty of *οἵω τώ γε* is an admitted one. The explanation that there is a violent hyperbaton for *τώ γε, οἵω* is unsatisfactory, as the many attempts at emendation indicate. Dr Leaf in his commentary mentions several. Nauck's *οἵω θῆρε*, Heyne's *οἵω τ' αὖτε*, Förstemann's *τὼ οἵω τε* and Düntzer's *οἵω αἴθωνε*. None of these account for the corruption, unless it be Düntzer's with its frightful synizesis, to which any corruption would be preferable. Dr Leaf thinks *τώ γε* represents some lost adjective, lost because its meaning was forgotten, and consequently impossible to restore. A modification of Düntzer's conjecture would give a tolerable sense, *ὡς δ' αἴθωνε*,

but would leave the corruption unexplained. Indeed it is a mere transference from Λ 548 *ὡς δ' αἴθωνα λέοντα*. I venture to suggest that the original was

οἵω τώ τε λέοντε.

The change is of the simplest and doubtless would have been made long ago save for the general unpreparedness to recognise the possibility of *τὼ* standing for *τινέ* just as *τῷ* stands for *τινί*, *τού* for *τινός*, and *τέων* (monosyllabic) for *τινῶν*.

I submit as something more than a possibility that if the nouns in P 61 *ὡς ὅτε τίς τε λέων*, Θ 338 *ὡς δ' ὅτε τίς τε κύων*, P 542 *ὥς τίς τε λέων* were made dual instead of singular, the earlier language of the epic period would have admitted *τώ τε λέοντε* and *τώ τε κύνε* as legitimate, because natural, forms.

Doubtless the later language eschewed this use of *τὼ*, but this is not surprising, for the genitive plural has no monosyllabic form in Attic, though it may be traced to some extent in *ὅτων*; and *ὅτοις* for the dative of *ὅστις* points to the possible existence at some remote period even of *τοῖς* for *τισί*. Cf. Soph. Trach. 984.

For the combination of *οἷος* with *τὶς* E 638 *ἀλλ' οἷόν τινά φασι*. *ι* 348 *οἷόν τι ποτὸν τόδε*. *υ* 377 *οἷον μέν τινα τοῦτον* are sufficient warrant.

Before quitting the subject of the proper reading of this line I may add, that the concluding words *δύω ὄρεος κορυφῇσιν* seem to have been subjected to a slight modernisation. That they originally stood *δύ' οὔρεος ἐν κορυφῇσιν* is probable enough from B 456 *οὔρεος ἐν κορυφῇς*. The preposition is in fact usual in this phrase. The only exception I find, besides the one at present in question, is Π 757 = 824 *ὥ τ' ὄρεος κορυφῇσιν*, and there also it is open to read *ὥ τ' ἐν ὄρεος κορυφῇσιν*, with synizesis of *-εος*, unless we prefer the contraction *ὄρευς*.

I submit the whole line resulting from the above considerations:—

οἵω τώ τε λέοντε δύ' οὔρεος ἐν κορυφῇσιν.

"Like as some pair of lions on the mountain tops."

*

H 452 *τοῦ δ' ἐπιλήσονται, τὸ ἐγὼ καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων*
ἥρῳ Λαομέδοντι πολίσσαμεν ἀθλήσαντε.

Poseidon is speaking of the wall of Troy, *τεῖχος*, built by himself and Apollo for king Laomedon. The first line only requires that *τό* should be changed to *τό τ'* with A L and the Ambrosian palimpsest. *ὅ τ'* CDGHS (La Roche).

The second line at first sight seems to be in a hopeless condition.

ἥρῳ is a later form for *ἥρωι* which most, if not all the MSS. read, presumably as a dactyl—a metrical enormity that deserves no countenance.

Nor does there seem to be any adequate justification for accepting Knight's little better than imaginary *ἥροος, ἥροϊ*, as Mr Platt has done in three places, *ζ* 303, *θ* 483 and here.

After all here and *θ* 483 we have only an ordinary inversion of two words to deal with. *Λαομέδονθ' ἥρωι* could hardly escape the general tendency to improve Homer by freeing him from what must have been thought a needless and objectionable elision of *ι* of the dat. here, as I shall show, twice repeated. Next we come to *πολίσσαμεν*, which is about as unsuitable a word here as could be devised, unless we can persuade ourselves, that it is justified by the only other instance of the occurrence of the verb in the Homeric poems:—

Υ 216 *κτίσσε δὲ Δαρδανίην, ἐπεὶ οὔ πω Ἴλιος ἱρὴ*
ἐν πεδίῳ πεπόλιστο, πόλις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων.

It would be a grave error to suppose, that *πεπόλιστο* implies the existence of any wall. The wall did not come into being till four generations afterwards. *πεπόλιστο*, to use a modern but very intelligible expression, means 'became centralised.'

The proper term for tracing a wall both in Homer and in later Greek is *ἐλαύνειν τεῖχος*, cf. *ζ* 9 *ἀμφὶ δὲ τεῖχος ἔλασσε πόλει.* Σ 564, *η* 113.

This leads us directly, to what I conceive to have been the true reading here, *ἐπελάσσαμεν*. After the *ε* disappeared for the reason already mentioned, the remainder *πελάσσαμεν* must have caused many searchings of heart and head, until by a fine

stroke of ingenuity it was read into *πολίσσαμεν* by the mere change of two vowels.

There is still a further difficulty to surmount, before we can be satisfied, that we know the full history of this line.

How comes it to pass, that we find *ἀθλήσαντε* instead of the really archaic form *ἀεθλήσαντε* or *ἀεθλεύσαντε*?

ἀεθλεύω, 'I contend in a match,' occurs three times Δ 389, Ψ 274, 737.

ἀθλεύων is only found in the spurious Ω 734, where it means 'working.'

This latter form, however, seems to have been the source, from which *ἀθλήσαντε* here, and in O 30, derived its necessary sense of 'labouring' or 'working.'

I venture to suggest that the true reading here is *ἀντλήσαντε*, i.e. *ἀνατλήσαντε*. When we consider the unfortunate association, that this participle would necessarily have in later times with the undignified *ἀντλέω*, 'to bale out the bilge water,' we need be at no loss to understand the readiness with which *ἀθλήσαντε* would be welcomed as a substitute. Probably in the earliest times of the existence of the Homeric poems, even if the word *ἄντλον* were then in existence (as indeed it was, v. *μ* 411, *ο* 479), this association was not felt: for the word would then be *ἀνταλάσαντε*. Only after the modernisation of this into *ἀντλήσαντε* could the confusion arise.

Accordingly I offer as the original of a desperately corrupt verse

Λαομέδονθ' ἥρω' ἐπελάσσαμεν ἀντλήσαντε.

Compare P 166, N 829, O 164, also *ταλασίφρων*.

*

Θ 213 *τῶν δ', ὅσον ἐκ νηῶν ἀπὸ πύργου τάφρος ἔεργεν,*
πλῆθεν ὁμῶς ἵππων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀσπιστάων
εἰλομένων·

The difficulty of the first line may be best realised from the elaborate note in Dr Leaf's commentary. He submits three alternatives:—

(1) 'All the space that from the ships the moat enclosed

remote from some point of the wall.' Here *ἀπὸ πύργου* is meaningless.

(2) 'All that the moat of the wall enclosed (*ἀπέεργεν*) from (i.e. up to) the ships.' The order of the words is very harsh.

(3) 'All the space outside the ships the moat enclosed from the wall' (La Roche). This would require *ἀπὸ νηῶν ἐκ πύργου*.

According to (1) and (2) the space meant is that between the ships and the moat. No. (3) restricts it to the ground between the wall and the moat. There is no variant of the slightest importance. All the MSS. have *ἔεργεν*. The scholia, as given by La Roche, are as follows:—*διχῶς ἀρίσταρχος καὶ ἔεργε καὶ ἔρυκε* Didymus. *Ζηνόδοτος δὲ γράφει τῶν δ' ὅσον ἐκ νηῶν ἀπὸ πύργου τάφρος ἔεργεν* Schol. A, *ὅτι ἔν τισι γράφεται ἀπὸ τάφρου πύργος ἔεργεν* Schol. A. Ludwich believes that Zenodotus read *καί* for *ἀπό*.

Surely the simplest way out of this impass (for none of the above explanations are satisfactory) is to take the phrase *ἀπὸ πύργου* as attributive to *τάφρος*. In Attic we should have *ὁ ἀπὸ πύργου τάφρος*. There is no question but that *ἀπό* can express position in both Attic and Homeric Greek, e.g. I 353 *ἀπὸ τείχεος* (Thuc. I. 7. 6), and the qualification of a noun by a prepositional phrase is by no means uncommon in Homer, cf. M 153 *λαοῖσιν καθύπερθε*. X 152 *ἐξ ὕδατος κρυστάλλῳ*. N 585 *ἀπὸ νευρῆφιν ὀιστῷ*. *ε* 401 *δοῦπον ποτὶ σπιλάδεσσι*. *ι* 206 *ἀμφιπόλων ἐνὶ οἴκῳ*. 486 *πλημυρὶς ἐκ πόντοιο*. X 482 *δόμους ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης*. *γ* 141 *νόστου ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης*.

I submit therefore, that *ἀπὸ πύργου τάφρος* means 'the trench running at a little distance from the wall,' 'the trench alongside the wall.' In fact the ditch is regarded as subsidiary to the wall, the line of which it follows. The exact distance of the moat from the wall may be disregarded, though it is not likely to have been so great as La Roche's version of this line implies. Compare I 87 and H 342 on this point.

Similarly in Σ 215 *στῆ δ' ἐπὶ τάφρον ἰὼν ἀπὸ τείχεος*

ἀπὸ τείχεος is not to be taken with ἰών, but with τάφρον, as here. The meaning is not 'he went from the wall to the moat,' but 'he went and stood beside the trench adjoining the wall.' The participle occupies, as is usual in sentences such as this, a very subordinate position; it is quite outside the construction, as the old scholars expressed it, eleganter additum, cf. ι 279 ἀλλά μοι εἶφ', ὅπη ἔσχες ἰὼν εὐεργέα νῆα· and passim.

Mr Monro, I observe, suggests that ἐπὶ πύργῳ τάφρος should perhaps be read, but the text conveys the intended meaning equally well, if not better, for if the expression depends solely upon I 349 καὶ ἤλασε τάφρον ἐπ' αὐτῷ, many might prefer the Aristarchean variant καὶ ἤλασεν ἔκτοθι τάφρον, as Dr Leaf actually does.

Translate therefore:—"All the space (extending) from the ships that the trench beside the wall enclosed."

*

K 530 μάστιξεν δ' ἵππους, τὼ δ' οὐκ ἀέκοντε πετέσθην
νῆας ἔπι γλαφυράς· τῇ γὰρ φίλον ἔπλετο θυμῷ.

Line 531 is omitted by Bekker, bracketed by La Roche, Paley and Leaf. Omitt. AC Townl.: habent DEGHLS (La Roche).

I think the line should be retained, for apart from the MSS. the ground for rejecting it seems to me based upon a misapprehension. It is commonly argued, and with considerable force, that there is no reason why the Thracian horses should be pleased to go to the Greek camp.

This argument of course does not apply to Λ 519—20 where the couplet recurs in reference to Nestor's horses.

One of the peculiarities of Homeric style is the interjection of the short parenthesis, after which the interrupted sentence is continued, e.g.

I 574 τὸν δὲ λίσσοντο γέροντες
Αἰτωλῶν, πέμπον δὲ θεῶν ἱερῆας ἀρίστους,
ἐξελθεῖν καὶ ἀμῦναι ὑποσχόμενοι μέγα δῶρον.

δ 141 *οὐ γάρ πώ τινά φημι ἐοικότα ὧδε ἰδέσθαι*
οὔτ' ἄνδρ' οὔτε γυναῖκα, σέβας μ' ἔχει εἰσορόωσαν,
ὡς ὅδ' Ὀδυσσῆος μεγαλήτορος υἷι ἔοικεν.

λ 307 *καί ῥ' ἔτεκεν δύο παῖδε, μινυνθαδίω δὲ γενέσθην,*
(Leg. *καί ϝ'*)
Ὠτόν τ' ἀντίθεον τηλεκλειτόν τ' Ἐφιάλτην.

Many more illustrations of this form of expression, we might almost say method of writing, might be given. Let me now proceed to apply it to the present passage, thus:—

μάστιξεν δ' ἵππους, τὼ δ' οὐκ ἀέκοντε πετέσθην,
νῆας ἔπι γλαφυράς· τῇ γὰρ φίλον ἔπλετο θυμῷ.

'And he lashed the horses (And they sped onward nothing loth.) towards the hollow ships; for thither it was his will they should go.'

Of course the change should also be made in Λ 519. In fact the clause *τὼ δ' οὐκ ἀέκοντε πετέσθην* often must, and always ought to be, taken as a parenthesis. v. E 366 = X 400, *o* 192. E 768 = Θ 45, Λ 280, *γ* 494, 484.

For *ἐπὶ νῆας* after *μάστιξεν*, if this causes any doubt, compare Λ 280 *ἵμασεν—ἐπὶ νῆας*.

*

Λ 757 (*ἐπὶ*) *πέτρης τ' Ὠλενίης, καὶ Ἀλεισίου ἔνθα κολώνη*
κέκληται, ὅθεν αὖτις ἀπέτραπε λαὸν Ἀθήνη.

'where is the hill which is called the hill of Aleision.'

Dr Leaf calls this 'a pregnant expression hardly to be paralleled in Homer.'

I venture to think that the reading of one MS. and the statement of the Etymologicum Magnum deserve to be followed even though a slight alteration at the beginning of the next clause be thereby rendered necessary.

La Roche gives this note:—*κέκλιται* H. Et. Mg. 61, 39 cum glossa *ὅπου ἡ κολώνη παράκειται*.

Read

πέτρης τ' Ὠλενίης καὶ Ἀλεισίου, ἔνθα κολώνη
κέκλιθ', ὅθεν πάλιν αὖτις ἀπέτραπε λαὸν Ἀθήνη.

We have δ 608 (*νῆσοι*) *αἵ θ' ἁλὶ κεκλίαται.* ν 235 *ἀκτὴ κεκλιμένη ἁλί*, and λ 193 *φύλλων κεκλιμένων* of a bed of leaves.

Translate with the comma after *Ἀλεισίου*, whereby *ἔνθα* begins the relative sentence:—'And to the rock, Olenie, and to Aleision, where the hill slopes, whence Athene turned the people back again.'

The corruption has arisen from the writing of elided words *ἐκ πλήρους*, as they are regularly written in Latin. Instead of *κέκλιθ', ὅθεν* the writing was presumably *κέκλιται, ὅθεν.* This would be open to no objection, but it seems to have led some one, whose sense of metre was undeveloped, to scan the two words as a spondee followed by a dactyl. Having got so far the critic would find it advisable to strike out *πάλιν*, because it seemed to spoil his metre. The sense is not materially interfered with.

In this state the line would remain, until some better instructed person came along, who knew that the penultimate of *κέκλιται* was short. He naturally introduced the correction, *κέκληται*, and so the vulgate was reached, which if anyone prefer, let him retain it by all means. Liberavi animam meam.

*

M 116 *πρόσθεν γάρ μιν μοῖρα δυσώνυμος ἀμφεκάλυψεν*
ἔγχεϊ Ἰδομενῆος, ἀγαυοῦ Δευκαλίδαο.

Read *ἔγχει ὕπ' Ἰδομενῆος*, which of course implies the elision of *ι*, and so may be written *ἔγχε' ὕπ'*: but until we are prepared to abolish the genitive in *-ου*, wherever it is short before a vowel, and write *-ο'*, e.g. N 326, there is no inconsistency in maintaining the more familiar and easily recognisable *ἔγχει.*

For the insertion of the preposition an almost unlimited number of passages might be quoted.

E 653 *ἐμῷ ὑπὸ δουρὶ δαμέντα* = Λ 444, 749, Π 848.
Λ 433 *ἤ κεν ἐμῷ ὑπὸ δουρὶ τυπεὶς.* M 250, Π 861, Σ 92.
Λ 821 *ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δουρὶ δαμέντες.* Leg. *ὑπαὶ τοῦ δουρὶ.* So Γ 436.

P 303 *ἔπλεθ' ὑπ' Αἴαντος μεγαθύμου δουρὶ δαμέντι.*
B 860 *ἀλλ' ἐδάμη ὑπὸ χερσὶ ποδώκεος Αἰακίδαο* = B 874.
Γ 352 *καὶ ἐμῆς ὑπὸ χερσὶ δάμασσον.*
E 559 *τοίω τὼ χείρεσσιν ὕπ' Αἰνείαο δαμέντε.* (Vulgo *ὑπ'*.)
564 *ἵνα χερσὶν ὕπ' Αἰνείαο δαμείη.* „ „
Z 368 *ἦ ἤδη μ' ὑπὸ χερσὶ θεοὶ δαμόωσιν Ἀχαιῶν.*
Θ 344 *πολλοὶ δὲ δάμεν Τρώων ὑπὸ χερσίν.*
K 310 *ἦ ἤδη χείρεσσιν ὕφ' ἡμετέρῃσι δαμέντες.*
Λ 180 *Ἀτρείδεω ὑπὸ χερσί.* Π 420 *χερσὶν ὕπ' Αἴαντος.*

K 452, N 763, 816, O 2, 289, Π 438, 699, Σ 11, T 62, Υ 94, 143, X 65, Ψ 675, Ω 168, 638.

Clearly *ὑπὸ δουρὶ* is a sufficient warrant for *ὑπὸ ἔγχει*, which is not to be found except, I believe, in combination in *σ* 155,

Τηλεμάχου ὑπὸ χερσὶ καὶ ἔγχει ἶφι δαμῆναι.

There is one passage, where by way of contrast to M 117 the preposition has maintained itself, though the noun has disappeared. It seems well worth giving at length :—

Π 707 *χάζεο διογενὲς Πατρόκλεες· οὔ νύ τοι αἶσα*
σῷ ὑπὸ δουρὶ πόλιν πέρθαι Τρώων ἀγερώχων,
οὐδ' ὑπ' Ἀχιλλῆος, ὅς περ σέο πολλὸν ἀμείνων.

Read

οὐδ' ὑπὸ δούρ' Ἀχιλῆος, ὅ περ σέο πολλὸν ἀμείνων

and compare Φ 107.

The reason for the disappearance of *δουρί* is obvious. (Ἀχιλῆος CD. *ὅ περ* Lips. Vrat. A. Rom.)

THOMAS LEYDEN AGAR.

ON THE SOURCES OF THE TEXT OF S. ATHANASIUS.

"THERE is still everything to be done towards the revision of the text (of Athanasius) on a critical basis," says Mr A. Robertson in the prolegomena of his translation of this father's works.

A most important aid towards this revision of the text will be found in the old Armenian Version. This is executed in the purest Armenian of the fifth century, to the first half of which in the judgment of all competent critics it belongs. It is preserved in beautifully written MSS in the Mechitarist library at Venice; and these MSS of the version are themselves older than the Greek MSS hitherto used for the Greek text.

In the following collation of the Arm. Version, I have referred to the MSS used by Montfaucon for his edition of 1668. These are described by Mr Robertson in the preface of the second edition of his de Incarnatione. They are

S = Seguerianus (now Coisl. 45) of the XIIth cent.

R = Felckmann's codex Goblerianus, now in the British Museum (Harl. 5579, Palaeograph. Soc., no. 133).

B = Felckmann's 'Basiliensis' (Basel A. III 4. Saec. XIV).

C = Anglicanus (Trin. Coll. Camb. B, 9, 7).

The agreement of these MSS with Arm. is indicated in my collation by the mere addition of S or SRB after the Arm. variant from Migne's text.

The Arm. version made c. 450 must represent a Greek MS some seven centuries earlier than S, and one written within two generations of the writing of the treatise, de Incarnatione et contra Arianos, which I select for comparison as being the

first in the volume of their Ancient version of Athanasius, which the Mechitarists of Venice are about to publish.

It is with Montfaucon's text as reprinted in Migne's *Patrol. Grk.* vol. XXVI, p. 983 foll., that I collate the Armenian. Where a peculiar rendering of a scriptural text may be due to the influence of the Armenian Vulgate or Mesropic version, I have added an asterisk. For in all Arm. translations this is an influence which must be discounted. Montfaucon's critical notes are quoted in square brackets, thus [...].

We may formulate as follows the conclusions as to the textual tradition at least of this treatise which are warranted by this Arm. Version.

I. The Arm. has in § 4 a long lacuna in common with SRB, with C and with the MSS used by Nannius for his Latin version and by the editors of the pre-Benedictine Greek editions of Athanasius. For all these sources—if they do not actually omit the passage in § 4, as do SRB and Nannius,—at least add it at the end of the treatise after τῆς πλάνης. *Therefore all these sources flowed from a common archetype* Σ.

II. This archetype Σ already underlies the Armenian, and must therefore have been in existence at least as early as A.D. 450, and probably much earlier.

III. The better class of MSS SRB and that which Nannius used, also perhaps C, form within Σ a class apart descended from an archetype σ_1, which was already interpolated in the interests of Catholic orthodoxy. The nature of this interpolation is made clear in the following instances:

(i) 985 C after ὅμοιος εἶναι δύναται the phrase ἢ ὁμοούσιος is inserted, not only it would seem in the sources mentioned above, but in all the manuscripts. At least Montfaucon does not note its omission in any source. I would not deny that the writer of the treatise might have used this watchword; indeed the Arm. itself testifies that it stood in the passage omitted in § 4 and added *ad calcem* (see I above). But, if it be remembered that it was just the watchword which a Greek scribe would be likely to insert and an Arm. translator be careful not to omit, it must be allowed that it did not here

stand in Σ; to which archetype therefore Arm. alone is here true.

(ii) 996 A after ἐκ παρθένου SRB insert the shibboleth θεοτόκου; the Arm. omits it, yet it was a watchword as dear to the Armenians as to the orthodox Greeks.

(iii) 996 C, SRB and Nannius add ἄνθρωπος τέλειος. Older editions than Montfaucon's omitted this watchword here, and the Arm. proves their correctness. And with the disappearance of this phrase goes one of the chief obstacles to the ascription of the treatise to Apollinarius rather than to Athanasius. Cp. Montfaucon in his preface to it: His adde Christum dici in hoc opusculo, num. 8, *hominem τέλειον*, id est *perfectum*, quod ab Apollinarii sententia, quantum abhorreat, nemo nescit.

(iv) 1000 B after εἷς θεὸς SRB Nannius add ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσι; Arm., supported by *edit. comm.*, omits.

As in (iii) a reason vanished why this treatise could not have been written by Apollinarius, so here vanishes a chief reason why Athanasius could not have written it, for in Montfaucon's *admonitio* we read: Hunc porro librum Athanasio abiudicant viri nostro aevo doctissimi, aiuntque nusquam Athanasium tres hypostases memorasse.

(v) 1025 A, SRBC read γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς θεοτόκου. In other MSS and older editions ἐκ M. τ. θ. is omitted. The true reading is traced in the Arm. 'et ingressus est subter legem.'

These five instances suffice to prove that the Arm. represents an as yet uninterpolated copy of Σ. But there are still other readings which confirm this conclusion. For example, Mark x. 18 is four times rendered in the Arm. thus: μή με λέγε ἀγαθόν, instead of τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; viz. 985 C, 993 A and B, 1012 B. In one of these passages only has μή με λέγε found its way into the Greek text of Athanasius, viz. 993 B, where the editors have failed to see that it is a verbal citation. In 985 C however SRB read μή με λέγε, φησὶν, ἀγαθόν, where Montfaucon prints the corruption τί με λέγεις from the older

editions. In the two remaining cases 993 A and 1012 B all the Greek MSS have been conformed to the vulgar reading. The Arm. Version of N. T. has *τί με λέγεις*, so it cannot have here influenced the translator of Athanasius. Thus we have preserved to us a new and striking form of one of Jesus' most important sayings; and we perceive that in our existing texts of Mark and Luke the saying *μή με λέγε* was weakened into *τί με λέγεις*, just as in Mat. it was watered down into the insulse *τί με ἐρωτᾶς περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ;* There can be no question but that Athanasius, or whoever wrote this treatise, read *μή με λέγε*. And it is a proof of the enormous weight of censorship that the orthodox Church has been able to wield in favour of its own 'revised' readings, that here the true text has been expunged from every MS of the N. T.

Another proof of the priority of the Arm. to the other copies of Σ is that it is free from the lacuna which in SRBC, as also in the texts from which the older editions flowed, stood in § 12. The words omitted were *ἐκ προσώπου τῆς ἐκκλησίας* to end of §. For they are given at the end of the treatise in SRBC and other MSS, along with the passage omitted in § 4, and with the connecting gloss prefixed: *πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐρώτησιν ἐρρέθη τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα, ἅπερ.* As Montfaucon notes (1028 n. 5): 'ac demum quispiam cum haec *ἀσύστατα* reperisset, priora verba temere addidit.' This lesser lacuna did not stand in Σ, but was in σ_1.

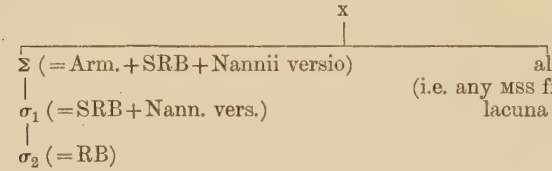
In not a few cases the Arm. restores the true text, e.g. in 992 A it has *οὐ γὰρ ἑαυτὸν ἦλθε σῶσαι ἀπὸ θανάτου ὁ υἱὸς, ἀλλὰ ἡμᾶς τοὺς θανατωθέντας*, which is obviously right as against Montfaucon's text, which has *σῶσαι ὁ ἀθάνατος θεὸς ἀλλὰ τοὺς θαν.* Here this corruption was in σ_1, for SRB and Nannius shew it. Here as often Montfaucon's *Editi et alii* have retained a trace of the true reading, for they have *ὁ ἀθάνατος υἱός*. A glance over the collation reveals many other passages remediable from the Arm. alone and from that with certainty.

Inside σ_1 we may distinguish an inferior group of MSS, σ_2, represented by RB; for these shew various corruptions from which S is free, as also Nannius' Latin: e.g. 992 A, S, Nannius and Arm. have *ἀπέθανεν*, where the other texts have *ἔπαθεν*.

There are many such cases, and in all of them the reading testified to by Arm. and S must be adopted.

One would like to know more about the MSS referred to as 'alii' in Montfaucon's notes. They underlie the older printed texts and are on the whole less pure than SRBC, of which one knows the readings. But they often retain traces of the true readings restored by the Arm., and must at least have flowed from another archetype than σ_1. Whether they, or some of them, also flowed from another archetype than Σ depends on whether they are wholly free from the lacuna in § 4.

The following scheme therefore brings before the eye the inter-relations of the sources:



It is clear from this scheme that within Σ any reading must be preferred, which the Arm. shares with one or more of the MSS or sources which conform to the type Σ. On the other hand, if any MS can be shewn to be independent of Σ, then its agreement with any of the examples of Σ is authoritative, for it represents the union of two fundamental types of text.

The future editor of Athanasius, supposing that the same rules hold good for his other works, as for this treatise, must examine carefully texts, if there really are any, independent of Σ; and in deciding what stood in Σ, paramount authority will attach to the Armenian as a fifth century witness thereof, manifestly free from interpolations which orthodox scribes have foisted into all its existing Greek examples.

Collation of Armenian Version.

Migne 985 A *τίς ἡ δύναμις τῆς πτωχείας αὐτοῦ* | B *ἐμοὶ μὴ γένοιτο.* om. *δὲ* | B *εἰ μὴ μόνον* ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ* | B after *κἀγὼ τῷ κόσμῳ.* om. *καὶ πάλιν* [in editis et aliis, sc. nisi SRB, *πάλιν* deest] | B *οὐδὲν γὰρ* ἔκρινα* | B *εἰ μὴ μόνον**

'Ιησοῦν Χριστόν | B *παράγουσι γὰρ ἡμᾶς* | B *τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσίας εἶναι υἱὸς, ὁπότε* | C *ὑπεροχῆς ἐστι* with SC | C *φαναι* for *φησὶ* before *τοῦ δίδοντος* SRB om. *φησὶ* | C *Τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν;*] *Μή με λέγε ἀγαθόν* with SRB | C after *ἀγαθόν* om. *φησὶν* which SRB set before *ἀγαθόν* | C *ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν* | C after *ὅμοιος εἶναι δύναται* omit *ἢ ὁμοούσιος* | C § 2 after *ταῦτα* om. *δὲ*.

988 A *τὴν δύναμιν τούτων* | A after *ὅταν* om. *οὖν* A after *ὁ υἱὸς λέγεται* omit *παρὰ τῷ Παύλῳ* | B *προέκοπτεν 'Ιησοῦς* om. *δὲ* | B *κατὰ σάρκα ἄνθρωπος.* om. *ὡς* | B *καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ.* om. *δέ* | B *ὅταν δὲ πάλιν λέγῃ* | B *ἀλλαχοῦ φησὶν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ· ἐγὼ ἁγιάζω* | B *ἵνα ὦσιν αὐτοὶ.* om. *καὶ* | C *λαβὼν, ἐν ὁμοιώματι.* om. *καὶ** | C after *εὑρεθεὶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος* omit *ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτόν* | C *αὐτος τὰς μαλακιας*] *αὐτὸς τὰς ἀσθενείας* [editi et alii] | C *τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα*] + *καὶ τὰ ἔξης* [editi].

989 A after *ὑψίστου* omit *ὑψοῦται* | A *ὁμοίως δὲ ὁ 'Ιωάννης.* om. *καὶ* | A *ὃ ἀκηκόαμεν καὶ ἑωράκομεν* | A after *ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν* om. *ὃ ἐθεασάμεθα* SRBC | B *ὁ υἱὸς καὶ ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ· ἐψηλαφίσθη* | B *διότι ἡ ληφθεῖσα σὰρξ ἀπαρχῆς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων οὔπω* [Theodor. pro *ἐξ ἡμῶν* habet *ἐξ ἀνθρώπων*, editi vero *ληφθεῖσα σὰρξ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀνθρώπων*] | B § 4 after *ὅτι ἔλαβεν ὁ υἱὸς* omit *καὶ ἐδοξάσθη ὁ υἱός* | B *καὶ ὅτε λέγει* down to C *καὶ ὅτε λέγει*] Arm. omits one or the other and words between. This omission was due to homoioteleuton and was already in the Greek, for it occurs in SRB and Nannius' Latin version. The missing words are supplied in the Arm. at 1028 A after *πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν*, in close proximity to which, namely at end of treatise after *πλάνης*, the missing words are given in SRBC, but prefaced by an interpolation (sc. *πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐρώτησιν ἐρρέθη τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα*) absent from Arm. The same omission was in the MSS from which earlier editions of Athanasius than Montfaucon's were printed, for they also like SRBC give the missing words along with interpolation at end of treatise.

992 A § 5 *ὁ ἀθάνατος θεὸς*] *ἀπὸ θανάτου υἱὸς* [editi et alii *ὁ ἀθάνατος υἱός*] | A *ἀλλὰ ἡμᾶς τοὺς θαν.* | A *ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ ἀπέθανεν* S and Nannius | A *ἵνα ἡμῖν πάντα τὸν πλοῦτον*

[editi et alii] | A *ἡμῖν ἀπάθεια* | A *ἡμῖν ἀθανασία* and om. *ἐστι* [postrema vox *ἐστι* deest in S] | A *ἵνα ὦσιν αὐτοὶ.* om. *καὶ* | A *καὶ οἱ μώλωπες αὐτοῦ* | A *τοῖς γὰρ μώλωψι** | A *ὅθεν ἦτει* | B *δόξασόν με, Πάτερ.* om. *σύ* | B *παρὰ σεαυτοῦ* | B before *Ἵνα ἐνδείξηται* om. *καὶ τὸ* [in aliis nisi SC et editis desiderantur *καὶ τὸ*] | B tr. *ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐν* Χρ. Ἰη. | B after *καὶ τὸ λέγειν* om. *αὐτὸν* | B *μέλη γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐσμεν.* S [et ita legit Nannius] | C *καθὼς ὁ μακάριος.* om. *καὶ* S | C § 6 *οὕτως καὶ.* om. *οὖν* | C aft. *ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ* add *ἐν ἔργοις αὐτοῦ* | C *αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἐσμεν ποίημα* | aft. *κτισθέντες ἐν* Χρ. Ἰη. add *ἐν ἔργοις ἀγαθότητος*.*

993 A after *καθὼς ἐξελέξατο* om. *ἡμᾶς* [omnes fere MSS, *ἡμᾶς*, quae vox deest in editis] | A *λέγει περὶ τῶν.* om. *καὶ* SRB | A *καὶ ἀποκαταλλάξας τοὺς* | A § 7 *Μή με λέγε ἀγαθὸν* | A after *εἷς ὁ θεὸς* om. *ὁ θεός* S | A *ἑαυτὸν μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων*] *ἑαυτὸν μετὰ τῶν σαρκικῶν* | A aft. *κατὰ τὴν σάρκα* om. *αὐτοῦ* [in editis et aliis nisi S, *αὐτοῦ* deest] | A aft. *τοῦ προσελθόντος αὐτῷ* add *ἀπεκρίνατο* 'respondit' S | B after *εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἄνθρωπον* om. *φησὶ* | B after *νομίζεις με* add *μόνον* | B omit *εἰ* before *θέλεις τέλειος εἶναι* | B *πώλησον πάντα.* om. *σου* | B *πάντα καὶ δὸς.* om. *ὅσα ἔχεις* for which S reads *τὰ ὑπάρχοντα* | B *λάβε* τὸν σταυρόν σου καὶ* ἀκολούθει* | B *διὰ τούτων οὖν*] *ἐντεῦθεν γοῦν* S | C *ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύπτει* | C after *ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν* om. *αὐτόν.*

996 A § 8 *ἵνα ἡμεῖς ἐν αὐτοῖς* | A after *ἄνωθεν ἐκ πατρὸς* om. *λόγος* | A aft. *κάτωθεν ἐκ παρθένου* om. *θεοτόκου* | A tr. *μητέρα μόνον ἔχει* | A *ἵνα καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι* | A *θεὸν καὶ πατέρα καλέσωσι* and then om. *ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς* | B after *πάτερ ἡμῶν* om. *φησὶν* | B aft. *οἱ δοῦλοι* om. *τοῦ θεοῦ* | B tr. *θεοῦ υἱοὶ γεγόναμεν* | B *ὁ Δεσπότης τῶν οὐρανῶν υἱὸς* S | B after *τοῦ ἰδίου δούλου γέγονε* om. *θνητὸς* SRB | B *τουτέστι τοῦ Ἀδάμ. λαβὼν γὰρ τὸν θνητὸν πατέρα τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἔδωκε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἀθάνατον πατέρα, κατὰ τὸ λεγόμενον* SRB | B *θανάτου κατὰ σάρκα γεύεται* S | B *κατὰ τὸν σαρκικὸν αὐτοῦ πατέρα*] Here Arm. reads môrn = *μητέρα* for hôrn = *πατέρα*—a falsification of text on the part of the Arm., and one easier to introduce in Arm. where there is no gender than in the Greek, in which *τὸν σαρκικὸν* must have

been modified also into *τὴν σαρκικὴν* | B *ἵνα οἱ υἱοὶ τῆς σαρκὸς, τῆς* | B *τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ μεταλάβωσι* | B *χάριν ἡμετέραν*] = propter nos | C aft. *γέγονε σάρξ* omit *ἄνθρωπος τέλειος* [desunt in editis] | C *ἵνα καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι* | C *καὶ ἡμεῖς ἄνθρωποι*] = *sed* nos homines | C *ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος Ἀβραὰμ* SB.

997 A *ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων* | A *ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ θεοῦ* | A *αὐτὸς ὁ ἀληθινὸς.* om. *οὖν* | A after *ἀληθινὸς* om. *καὶ φύσει* [in solis SRB habetur *καὶ φύσει*] | A *ἵνα οἱ πάντες*] + *ἡμεῖς* | A § 9 *ὁπότε πᾶσα Γραφὴ*] = quod omnis scriptura | A *συναριθμεῖ καὶ συνδοξάζει* | A *τῆς αὐτῆς θεότητός ἐστι καὶ οὐσίας, καθὼς* | A aft. *καθὼς αὐτὸς* om. *ὁ κύριος* S | A om. *ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ* | A *τοῦτο δὲ εἶπε*] + *φησὶ* | C *ἄνωθεν πέμπει ὡς θεός* | C *καὶ αὐτὸς κάτω.* om. *αὐτὸ* | C *κάτω ὑποδέχεται, ὡς ἄνθρωπον* | C *ὁ ἠγαπημένος μου* Ἰσραὴλ* | C *τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς* | C *τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ* | C *ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐπαγγέλλεται.*

1000 A *ὕδωρ ζῶν*] *ὕδωρ ζωῆς* | A *γενήσεται αὐτῷ.* om. *ἐν* | A aft. *ὁ Δαβὶδ ψάλλων* om. *τῷ θεῷ* | A *ὅτι παρά σου* πηγὴ* | A *ζωῆς, καὶ* ἐν τῷ φωτί* | A *παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ ὄντα.* om. *θεῷ* S | A § 10 *ὡς καὶ διὰ* [legebatur *ὡς* in editis et quibusdam MSS, sed deest in SRB] | A aft. *Ἱερεμίου* om. *ὁ υἱὸς* | A *δύο πονηρά.* om. *καὶ* | B *οἳ οὐ δύνανται ὕδωρ ἔχειν* | B *τὰ σεραφὶμ*] *τὰ χερουβίμ* | B *μία γὰρ θεότης.* om. *ἡ* S | B after *εἷς θεὸς* omit *ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσι* [desunt in editis comm., sed habentur in SRB, et lecta sunt ab interprete Nannio] | B *ἅπερ ὁ Πατὴρ.* om. *εἶπεν* | C *καὶ τὰ σεραφὶμ*] *καὶ τὰ χερουβίμ** | C *τῷ ἑνί· ταῖς μὲν.* om. *καὶ** | C *τὰ πρόσωπα*] + *αὐτῶν** | C before *ἐκέκραγεν* om. *καὶ** | C after *σαβαὼθ, πλήρης* om. *ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ** | *καὶ μετ᾽ ὀλίγον λέγει· ἤκουσα* [SRB *μετ᾽ ὀλίγα λέγει· ἣ ἤκουσα*].

1001 A *καὶ εἶπον αὐτοῖς· ἀκοῇ* | A before *βλέποντες* om. *καὶ* | A after *καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶ* add *αὐτῶν** | A after *καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς* add *αὐτῶν** [alii] | A aft. *τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς* om. *αὐτῶν* S | A *Ἡσαΐας, ὅτι ἐσκότωσεν αὐτῶν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ ἐτύφλωσεν* | *ταῦτα εἶπεν Ἡσαΐας.* om. *δὲ* | B *Σαβαὼθ ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς* for *Σ. ἐστιν ὁ υἱός* | B before *δυνάμεων* om. *τῶν* | B *ἑρμηνεύεται Σαβαὼθ κύριος δυνάμεων, αὐτός ἐστιν.*

om. *τὸ κύριος* and *ὁ δὲ* and *τῶν* | B before *βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης* om. *ὁ* | B *καθὼς ὁ Δαβίδ.* SRB | B *κύριος ποιμανεῖ* | B *καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ* + *λέγει* S | B *ἐν δὲ τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ* | C editi | B *ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβὶμ* + *υἱὸς* | C § 11 *ἀλλαχοῦ ἡ*] *ἄλλη* [editi *ἄλλη.* SRB *ἀλλαχοῦ ἡ* rectius] | C *οὕτως καὶ ὅτε.* om. *οὖν* | C *ἔλεγε, φησὶ* and om. *δὲ* | C *καὶ ἑτέρα γραφὴ* | C before *καλῶς λέγει* om. *καὶ* [in editis *καὶ* deest] | C after *Λόγου καὶ υἱοῦ* om. *τὴν σάρκα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ* ? per homoiotel.

1004 A *καὶ οὐ λέγομεν τὸ σῶμα εἶναι λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ* [in editis *φύσει* deest, sed habetur in SRB] | A after *τὸ σῶμα τοῦ υἱοῦ* om. *τοῦ θεοῦ* [SRB *υἱοῦ καὶ θεοῦ*] | A *πρότερον πλούσιος ἦν* | A *ὕστερον δὲ*] + *δι' ἡμᾶς* | A before *διὰ τοῦτο* om. *καὶ* | A *αὐτὸς γὰρ ἦν ἡ ζωή* | A tr. *ἡλικίᾳ καὶ σοφίᾳ* | A *ἁγιάζεται ὁ ἀεὶ ἅγιος* | B *κατὰ φύσιν εἶχε* | B § before *συνήγειρε* om. *καὶ** | B *διὰ τοῦτο κατὰ χάριν* | B *τὸ ἴδιον οὖν σῶμα* and om. *πρῶτον* | B *μετὰ γὰρ ταῦτα ἐγείρει... αὐτοῦ, καὶ χαρίζεται αὐτοῖς.* om. *ἵνα* | C *ὅτε οὖν λέγει*] 'et quum dicit' | C *ὁ πατὴρ ἡγίασεν καὶ ἀπέστειλεν εἰς κόσμον καὶ ἤγειρεν αὐτὸν* | C after *αὐτῷ ὄνομα* om. *τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα* ? per homoiotel. | C *δι' αὐτοῦ ἁγιάζει.* om. *αὐτὸν* | C *δι' αὐτοῦ ὑψοῖ.* om. *αὐτὸν* | C *πρὸ πάντων τῶν.* om. *δὲ** | C *βουνῶν ἐγέννησέν** *με* | C after *ἐκκλησίας* om. *λέγει* | C after *μετὰ ταῦτα γεννᾶται* add *κατὰ χάριν.* so SRBC *ad calcem.*

1005 A § 13 tr. *εἷς θεός* | A *κτισθήσονται*] possides eos* (possideo is the Arm. equivalent of *κτίζω*) | A *ὅτε λέγει Ἰησοῦς περὶ πατρός* | A *ταῦτα καὶ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ* | A *πατέρα εἰ μὴ μόνον ὁ υἱὸς* | A *ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύπτει* | B *καὶ περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος.* om. *ἁγίου* [in editis et caeteris sc. nisi SRB *ἁγίου* deest] | B *διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ*] *δ. τ. πν. ἁγίου* | B after *τῆς θεότητος* om. *αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς οὐσίας* | B after *καὶ ὕψωσα* omit *αὐτοὶ δέ με ἠθέτησαν* [desunt in editis et habentur in solis SRB] | C after *ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος πνεῦμα* om. *ἐστι* | C *πνεῖ, τὴν φωνὴν.* om. *καὶ* | C *καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγει*] '*or** where it goeth' | C *τοῖς πιστεύουσι εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ*] *τ. πιστ. εἰς αὐτὸν* | C *οἳ οὐκ ἐξ αἵματος**, *οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος σαρκὸς** *οὐδὲ ἐκ θελ. ἀνδρὸς** | C *ἐβαπτίσθησαν, εἰς πατέρα.* om. *οὗτοι* | C *καὶ ὅτε πάλιν λέγει.*

1008 A *ἐκεῖ ἐστιν καὶ ὁ θεός* | A § 14 after *πολυμερῶς* om. *γὰρ* | A *τοῖς πατράσιν*] + *ἡμῶν** | *καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ*] '*sed* aliubi' | A after *ἐν ἐμοὶ λαλοῦντος* add 'tecum'* | A *πνεῦμα εἶπε λαλοῦν.* om. *τὸ* | A after *εἰς συνέδρια* add 'et in congregationes eorum'* | A *δοθήσεται—τί λαλήσητε.* om. per homoiotel. | A after *καὶ ὁτὲ μὲν* om. *ὁ ἀπόστολος* SRB | B after *ναὸν εἶναι* add *φησι* | B after *ἐμπεριπατήσω* add *ἐν αὐτοῖς** | B *ἔσονταί μου** *λαός* | B after *πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ.* om. *τὸ ἅγιον** S | B tr. *τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ* | B tr. *ὁ πατὴρ* after *ζωοποιεῖ* | C *πρὸς Κορινθίους.* om. *δὲ* | C before *τοῦ υἱοῦ εἶναι* add *καὶ* | C *καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῦ ἁγίου* [editi et alii nisi RB] | C *ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος ἐδίδαξε* S | C after *διαιρέσεις* om. *δὲ.*

1009 A *καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος*] *ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ κ.** | A *ἐν πᾶσι μετ' ὀλίγον.* om. *καὶ* | A *πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα* | A *διαιροῦν ἕκαστο* (or ? *ἑκάστῳ*) *καθὼς καὶ βούλεται* and om. *ἴδια* | A § 15 *τῆς κληρονομίας ἡμῶν* S | A *ὁ Δαβὶδ λέγει*] *sed* David dicit | A *ἡ ἐλπὶς** *καὶ** *μερίς μου** *ἐν γῇ* | A *κύριος ὄνομα αὐτοῦ* | B *ὡς καὶ Μώσεως* | after *ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς φῶς ἐστι* add *ἀληθινὸν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα φῶς* SRBC | B *καὶ ἁγιάσει αὐτοὺς* | C *ἐγὼ κύριος ἁγιάζω* and om. *ὁ* | C *ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, φησι, πῦρ* | C *καταναλίσκον ἐστιν* S | C *καθὼς καὶ** *τὸ πνεῦμα* | C *ὅσοι γὰρ—ἐνδέδυνται*] *ὅσοι γὰρ τὸ πνεῦμά εἰσιν ἐνδεδυμένοι, πατέρα ἐνδέδυνται* | C after *δεῖ γὰρ* add *φησί* S.

1012 A § 16 *πολλοὶ λέγουσι*] = 'many said'* | A *οὐχ ὑστερήσει*] = 'was not deficient' | A *ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ Ματθαῖος* S | A *περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς*] *περὶ αὐτοῦ* [editi et alii nisi SRB] | A *εἰ οὖν ὑμεῖς πονηροὶ ὄντες* omit | A *ἱστορῶν*] = 'imitating' ? *ἀπεικάζων* | A *εἰ ὑμεῖς.* om. *οὖν* | A ? *οἱ** *πονηροὶ ὄντες* | A *ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς*] *ἐξ οὐρανοῦ** [editi vero et alii *ὁ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ*] | A *τοῖς αἰτοῦσιν αὐτόν*] *τοῖς πιστεύουσιν αὐτῷ* [editi et alii] | B *ἐκλήθη τοῦτο* SRBC | B *ὁ κύριος παρητεῖτο* SRB | B *τί με λέγεις*] *μή με λέγε* | B ? tr. *τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον* RB | B *διὰ τῆς σαρκὸς* [BC Felckm. 2 et 5] | B *τοῦ κυρίου μεταλαμβάνοντες*] *τοῦ Χριστοῦ μετ.* | B after *ἡ σάρξ μου ἐστὶν* add *ἣν ἐγὼ δώσω** | B *πνεῦμα γὰρ ζωοποιοῦν*] *ἄρτος γὰρ ζωοποιῶν* | B *συνελήφθη*] *ἐλήφθη* |

C § 17 *καὶ ὁ καθοδηγήσας* [S *ἢ καὶ ὁ καθ.*] | C *καὶ ὁ Ἡσαίας* | C omit *ἐστι γοῦν ἀκοῦσαι αὐτοῦ λέγοντος* [R et Felckm. 2] | C *ἤγαγεν φησὶν αὐτούς.*

1013 A Before *κατέβη πνεῦμα* om. *καὶ* SRB | A *γράφει ὁ Ἀπόστολος*] *ὁ Παῦλος λέγει* S | A *ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κεκλῆσθαι*] *ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κεκλ.* | A *ὁ ἀφορίσας*] = 'separavit'* | A *καὶ καλέσας*] = 'et vocavit'* | A *Ῥωμαίους δὲ*] = sed ad Romanos ?*Ῥωμαίοις* [SB *Ῥωμαίοις δὲ γράφων*] | B om. *καὶ* before *τό γε θαυμαστὸν* | B *ὅτι ἐγὼ** *εἰς ἔθνη μακρὰ** | B *καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον φησὶ* S | B after *γνωρίζω* om. *δὲ* | B after *τὸ εὐαγγέλιον* om. *τοῦτο* S | B *παρὰ ἀνθρώπου ἔλαβον** RB | B omit *αὐτὸ* before *οὐδὲ ἐδιδάχθην** and add after them 'ab aliquo'* ? *ὑπό τινος* | C § 18 *ὡς ἐν τοῖς ψαλμοῖς λέγει* [RB *ὡς ἐν ψ. λέγῃ*] | C *εἰ τῷ Δαβίδ*] + 'ego non'* | C *θήσομαι ἐπὶ*] 'I will *seat* upon'* = *καθίσω ἐπὶ* | C *προφήτης οὖν ὑπάρχων ὁ Δαβὶδ καὶ εἰδώς*] = Propheta erat* Dabid et sciebat* | C after *καθίσαι τὸν Χριστόν* omit *κατὰ σάρκα** [SBRC add. In editis *κατὰ σάρκα* deest] | C after *δι' ὑμᾶς* om. *διαπαντὸς** RB | C after *ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι* omit *αὐτὸς* | after *ὁ λαλῶν* add 'et'*.

1016 A *τάδε λέγει*] = hocmodo loquitur | A *τὸ δὲ** *πνεῦμα ἅγιον** *ῥητῶς* [SRB add *δὲ*] | A after *τῷ ἅρματι* om. *τούτῳ* [in aliis nisi S *τούτῳ* deest] | A after *περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων* for *λέγει* = dicebat ? *ἔλεγεν* | B *παρώξυναν τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ** *τὸ ἅγιον, ἐστράφη.* om. *καὶ* | B *ἀπερίτμητοι ταῖς καρδίαις** S | B *ὡς καὶ** *οἱ πατέρες* | B *θεὸς ὁ δικαιῶν*] *θεὸς δικαιοῖ* | B after *τὰ αὐτὰ* om. *καὶ* | B tr. *ὁμοίως καὶ π. τ. ἁγ. πν.* | B *συνεφωνήθη ὑμῖν*] = consensistis* | C § 19 *υἱοῦ λέγει ὁ Παῦλος* S | C *καὶ περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος.* om. *ἁγίου* | C after *ποῦ πορευθῶ* + 'ego'* | C before *ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου σου* read *ἢ* for *καὶ** and after them add 'ego'*.

1017 A *εἰς τὸν Ἅδην*] + *κἀκεῖ** | A *παραγέγονεν*] = 'descendit' | A *τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ περὶ*] = haec de. om. *καὶ* A *ἔγνωσαν*] = cognitum erat* | A before *ἑτέρῳ οὐ δώσω* om. *ἡ γραφὴ* | B before *προσκυνήσουσί* om. *καὶ* S | B *καὶ πλὴν σοῦ θεὸς*] here *ἄλλος* or *ἕτερος* for *θεὸς*[1] [*πλ. σ. θ.* deest in multis MSS] | B *σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς.* om. *γὰρ* | B *καὶ πλὴν αὐτοῦ*]

[1] The Arm. vulg. = *ἄλλος θεὸς.*

+ 'alium' | B *τῷ ἀποστόλῳ Θωμᾷ*] *τῷ ἁγίῳ* Θ. | B *κύριον θεὸν τὸν λέγοντα.* om. *καὶ* | B *εἰ ἐγνώκειτε.* om. *γὰρ* | B before *ἀπάρτι* om. *καὶ* | C before *Φίλιππος* om. *αὐτῷ* [deest in editis sed legitur in omnibus ferme MSS] | C *ἔγνωκάς με, Φίλιππε;** | C *τὸν πατέρα·*[1] *πῶς σὺ λέγεις.* om. *μου καὶ* | C after *ὁ δὲ πατήρ* for *μου* read *ὁ** | C after *ἐν τῷ πατρὶ* om. *μου** | C after *ἐν πνεύματι* om. *δὲ* | C *εἰ ἐγὼ ἐν.* om. *δὲ.*

1020 A *τὸν Χριστὸν βραχίονα*] *τὸν υἱὸν βρ.* | A § 20 after *θῇ* om. *πάντας* [editi, quae vox legitur in SRB] | A after *τοὺς ἐχθροὺς* add *αὐτοῦ* | A after *πάντα ὑποτέτακται* add *αὐτῷ** | A om. from *ὅταν δὲ ὑποτ.* down to *τὰ πάντα* per homoiotel. | A *τῆς ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ ὑποτεταγμένης*] ? = *τὸ ἐν σαρκὶ ὑποτάσσεσθαι αὐτοῦ* | A *θεϊκῆς*] = coelestis | B after *ὁ Λουκᾶς* om. *λέγει* | B *τὸν ἄγγελον Γαβριὴλ*] = *τὸν ἅγιον Γ.* | B *τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ*] + *φησὶ* | B *τέλος ἔχειν τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ*] = *τέλος εἶναι τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ* | B before *ἄχρις ἂν* om. *φησὶν* | B after *θῇ πάντας* om. *τοὺς ἐχθροὺς* | B after *Δαβίδ·* *Εἶπε* om. *φησὶν* | B *καὶ τὸ λέγειν*] + 'eum' | C *τοῦτο δέ ἐστιν*] = 'hoc vult dicere' SRB | C *ὅταν ὑποταγῶμεν.* om. *φησὶν* | C *οἱ πάντες τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ εὑρεθῶμεν* | C *γενώμεθα αὐτοῦ εἰς* | C after *ὑποταγέντων* om. *πάντων.*

1021 A *καὶ παραδῷ τὴν*] = *παραδοὺς τὴν* [editi et alii nisi SRB] | A *ὡς διὰ λόγου θεοῦ*] *ὡς διὰ σωτῆρος* | A § 21 *ἀσφαλῶς οὖν*] = 'vere'* and om. *οὖν* | A tr. *ὅτι καὶ Κύριον αὐτὸν καὶ Χρ.** | B tr. *παρελθέτω τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο* and om. *ἀπ' ἐμοῦ* | B before *τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα* om. *καὶ* | C after *τὸ δὲ θεικὸν* om. *ὅπερ θεοῦ* [haec *ὅπερ θεοῦ* habentur solum in concilio Lateran.] | C *ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Πέτρος* | C *σκάνδαλόν μοι εἶ* | C omit from *οὕτως καὶ* to *ἀνθρώπων* per homoiotel. | C *τὴν οὐσίαν τὴν θεϊκὴν*] = substantiam Dei | C after *ἀπαθὴς* om. *ὑπάρχων.*

1024 A ? *καὶ συναγωγαὶ** *λαῶν κυκλώσουσί** *σε* | A before *ὑπὲρ ταύτης* om. *καὶ** | *λέγει καὶ ὁ Ἀποστ.* om. *δὲ* and then om. *ἀλλαχοῦ* with RB | A *ἐκ δυνάμεως*] = 'potentiâ'* | *σαρκικῆς συμπλοκῆς*] = 'carnis compositione' |

[1] Arm. vulg. om. *μου.*

A § 22 *κατὰ* Ἰωάννην] = Ἰωάννου | A after *αὕτη* om. δὲ* | B *γινώσκωμεν τὸν ἀληθινὸν θεὸν*] = 'noscamus veritatem'* simply (Arm. Vulg. = *τὸν ἀληθινόν*, omitting *θεὸν*) | B *ἐν τῷ ἀληθινῷ υἱῷ.* om. *ἐν τῷ* [RB Nannius] | B *οὗτος γάρ* ἐστιν ὁ* | B *ὥστε ἀληθινὸς θεός ἐστιν οὗτος* [SRB Theodoret, *οὗτος* pro *ὁ υἱός*] | B after *τοῦ γενέσθαι* om. *αὐτόν* | B *ἄνθρωπον* Ἰησοῦν down to *ἀνθρώποις· τὸν*] om. ? per homoiot. in Arm. | C *μὴ μόνον ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοῦ* and then omit *τὸν αὐτὸν ὄντα* [in aliis nisi SRB et editis haec desunt] | C after *ἠγαπημένῳ* om. *ὑπ'* | C *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα* RB | C *συνεγεννήθη*] *ἐγεννήθη.*

1025 A *συνέφαγε*] = *συνετέλεσε* or ? *συνετελεύτησε* | A *ἀλλαχοῦ λέγει*] + *ὁ* Ἱερεμίας | A tr. *ὁ υἱὸς καὶ ἐδόθη* | A *ἐγεννήθη αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων** | A om. *θαυμαστὸς, σύμβουλος* | A om. *ἐξουσιαστὴς* | A *καὶ γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς θεοτόκου*] = 'et (qui) ingressus est subter legem' i.e. *καὶ γενόμενος ὑπὸ νόμον* [haec *ἐκ* M. *τῆς θεοτ.* leguntur in SRBC: in aliis et in editis desunt] | A *καὶ οὐκ εἶχεν εἶδος, οὐδὲ κάλλος*] = neque erat eius* pulchritudo[1] | B *πρὸ τούτου*] ? = *πρότερον* | B after *ἐνδόξῳ* om. *αὐτοῦ* [S *ὑπερενδόξῳ μορφῇ*] | *καὶ οἱ σεραφὶμ*] *καὶ οἱ χερουβίμ* [editi et alii nisi SRB] | B *ὁρᾷ αὐτὸν*] = 'videbat illum' | B *ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων* [Theorianus et Damascenus] | B *καὶ εἴδομεν αὐτὸν* | B *οὐκ εἶχεν εἶδος*] = non fuit* species | B before *ἐκλεῖπον* om. *καὶ** | B *ἀνθρώπων. καὶ ἄνθρωπος* | B *ἐν πληγαῖς** *ὢν, οἶδε** *φέρειν* | B *μαλακίαν*] = 'labores'* | B *τὰς μαλακίας ἡμῶν αἴρει** (as in 988 C) | B *ἐν πόνοις καὶ πληγαῖς* | C *ἐτραυματίσθη διὰ τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν καὶ μεμ. δ. τ. ἁμαρτίας* [editi et alii *ἁμαρτίας* pro *ἀνομίας*] C ? *τραναὶ ἔσονται γλῶσσαι* | C *ὁ κύριος ἐλθὼν ἔσωσεν* S.

1028 A Σιὼν *ἐρεῖ*] = 'Sion dicit' | A om. *ἄλλῳ* before *ψαλμῷ* | A om. *καὶ* before *γνώτωσαν** | A *ὄνομά σου** *κύριος, καὶ** *σὺ μόνος εἶ** *ὕψιστος* | after *πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν* add the words *καὶ ὅτε ... γεγέννηται* which were omitted in § 4, only with the following variations from the text as given in Migne's note (5) on p. 1028.

[1] But the Arm. vulg. does not omit *εἶδος οὐδὲ*.

After *καὶ ὅτε λέγει* add *ὁ Σωτήρ* | omit *ὁ πατήρ* before *ὁ πέμψας* | *καὶ μείζονα* | *τὸ εἶναι ἴσον.* om. *αὐτὸν* | after *ὁμοούσιος* om. *τῷ πατρὶ.*

1028 A *ταῦτα ἀπὸ μέρους* om. *δὲ* RB | *ἐγράψαμεν*] *ἔγραψα μὲν* or *ἔγραψα* simply | *ἐν τῇ κυβείᾳ*] *τῆς κυβείας.*

I next give a collation of the short tract, falsely ascribed to Athanasius, called in Greek *ὅτι εἷς ὁ Χριστός.* The Arm. title = 'Oratio de Fide. Quod unus Christus. Contra Paulum Samosatenum.' Here again the Armenian restores many places of the text and fills up several lacunae; while the Codex S, in spite of its general superiority, maintains its character for interpolation by inserting the Shibboleth *θεοτόκος* after *ἡ παρθένος* in 129 C.

Migne, vol. XXVIII, col. 121 B § 1. *μόνον ἀληθῆ τῶν* | *μηκέτι προσεῖναι τῇ κτίσει*] = *μηκέτι προσκυνεῖν τῇ κτ.*

124 A *παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα*] = 'et non creatorem' | A *θεϊκῶν ἔργων*] *θ. γραφῶν* | A *ψιλὸν αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον εἶναι νομίζειν*] = hominem illum totum putare (? *ὅλον* and om. *εἶναι*) | A *τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς*] = 'of us' | A *Ἰουδαίων κακά· Ταῦτα*] *Ἰουδαίων, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα* | B *ἀπέδειξε*] = appellavit | B before *σωματοῦσθαι* om. *ὅλως* | B after *ἀνθρωπίνοις* omit *καὶ φιλονεικίᾳ* SB Cat. | B *πῶς πρόεισι.* om. *δὲ καὶ* | B *καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πῶς λέγειν καὶ* | B § 2 after *σαρκοῦται* omit *θεὸς πῶς σωματοῦται* | C *πῶς καὶ ἐν μέρει* S | C *ἀμέτρητος*] = 'sine parte' i.e. *ἀμερής* | C *ἢ καὶ τὸ μικρὸν* | C *ἐχώρησαν ἐκ τοῦ πῶς*] + 'dicere' *λέγειν* | C *παρανόμως ἐφρόνησαν* | D *τῇ ἁγίᾳ Τριάδι.*

125 A *τὸν προσκυνητὸν προσκυνοῦντα μᾶλλον καὶ ὑποτασσόμενον, ὡς Μάρκελλος* (omitting point after *προσκυνητὸν*, also *δὲ, καὶ σέβοντα μετὰ πάντων* and *τῇ ἁγίᾳ Τριάδι* | A *ἀσώματος ἦν καὶ σῶμα* | A *μετὰ πάντων*] ? = contra omnes (as if *κατὰ πάντων*) | A *συναριθμούμενος, προιὼν καὶ ὑποτασσόμενος λατρεύειν. Σκοπήσατε* (om. *θεῷ*) | B after *ἀπιστίαν* add 'conducti erant' (? *ἐχώρησαν*) | B § 3 *οὐ μόνον δὲ*] = *nam* non solum | B *καὶ ἐπλάσαντο* | B after *παράνομον σκοπήσαντες* add 'et futurorum facti sine spe,' which is required by what follows, namely *εἰ γὰρ προσεδόκων.* Here then Arm. fills up a lacuna in the Greek texts. | B *ἀποστόλοις ἠκολούθουν*]

= 'Apostolis credebant' | C *οὐκ ἄλλον καὶ ἄλλον, οὐ πρόσωπα.* Here another lacuna in the Greek is filled up by Arm. C *ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ*] = 'filium David' | C *οὐ ζητῶ πῶς ἀπαθὴς καὶ πῶς παθητὸς ὁ αὐτὸς* | C *τῶν προκειμένων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν* | D after *θείας* omit *καὶ οὐρανίου* | D after *μακάριος* omit *γὰρ.*

128 A after *πύλαι* omit *ἐπιγένωνται* | A om. *οἱ ἐν αὐτῷ* | A *θάρσει τῷ*] *θαρσείτω τῷ* | A *νενίκηκα*] *νικᾷ* | A *παθὼν*] 'per passionem' (*διὰ πάθους* as below) | A tr. *θεὸν ἅμα καὶ* | A after *ἀλλότρια* om. *γὰρ* | A after *ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς* om. *καὶ* | A *διὰ τοῦ πάθους νικᾷ.*

128 B § 4 *παρελθὼν...ζητητής*] ? sumens...quaerere | B *μέρος οὖν ἦν τοῦ λόγου* | B after *ἀτελής* om. *ὢν* | B *καὶ πρόσωπον* (om. *ἓν*) | B after *εἰ μία ὑπόστασις* add 'est eadem.' | B after *τῆς σαρκὸς* om. *πῶς* and read *υἱὸς δὲ* | B after *ὁμοούσιος ἄρα* om. *ἔσται* | B *ἀσεβές* down to *θεοῦ ὅπερ ἐστὶν* omit per homoiot. | B after *ὁμοούσιος* add *τῷ πατέρι* | B after *καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἔχων* om. *ὑπόστασιν* | C after *τοὺς ἡμετέρους* om. *λόγους* | C *ἢ ἀλλότριον* (om. *ξένον καὶ*) | C *μήτε πάλιν τὸν κατὰ σάρκα* | D *καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι λέγομεν ἀδελφοὶ.* om. *θεὸν* | D *ἀποστόλοις ἑπόμενοι* S | D *καὶ τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις* | D before *ἡ σοφία* ? om. *μᾶλλον* | D *περὶ τῆς ἰδίας*] *ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδ.*

129 A *τῆς ὑποστάσεως τοῦ λόγου τὸ σῶμα γένηται* | A *ἀσεβὲς γὰρ τοῦτο* | A *τὸ θεῖον καὶ ἀνεπίδεκτον* | A *καθὸ θεὸς ὁ λόγος* | A *ὁ λόγος γὰρ ἔτι τέλειος* | A *ὁ τῇ φύσει κύριος*] *ὅτι φ. κ.* | A *ὁ ἀληθῶς τέλειος καὶ τὸ ἀτελὲς* | B om. *ὁ μηδενὸς* to *σώματι* per homoiotel. in version | B *ἢ νήφειν ὅλως*] *ἢ νηφόντων ὅλως* | B om. *καὶ νοεῖν δυναμένων* | B *καὶ ἐνυπόστατος*] ? *ἐν ὑποστάσει* | B *ἀφαιρέσεως τῆς ἐπιγενομένης* | B *καὶ τὰ ἐκ ταύτης* SRB | B § 5 *οὐ γὰρ κατὰ γέννησιν* | C *τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀβραάμ* (om. *εἶναι*) | C after *ὁ δὲ λυτρωτὴς* add *τοῦ Ἀδὰμ καὶ τῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ*, words which have dropt out of the Greek MSS | C *οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ* | C *λέγω δὲ τὴν μετὰ* | C after *τυραννὶς διαβόλου* add 'imperat' or 'valet' | C after *κοινωνία μὲν* om. *τοῦ λόγου* | C after *ἡ παρθένος* om. *Μαρία*, where S interpolates *θεοτόκος* | D *πῶς ἔσται* (om. *γὰρ*) | D before *ἐπεὶ ἄνδρα* om. *φησὶν* | D *εὐηγ-*

γελίσθη δὲ θεία οὐσία | D after γεννηθέντος om. ἐξ αὐτῆς | D σαρκίνη] ? = σαρκὸς | D before εἰρηνοποίησις om. ἦν.

131 A after ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη om. ἀνθρώποις | A χαρὰν χαίρομεν, οἷον | A χαίρωμεν] χαίρομεν SRB | A οὐ κοινωνοῦ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ λυτρωτοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἀποστόλου λόγον. S also omits ἔχοντες and so retains a trace of the true reading. | A ἦ ὁ γεννώμενος θειότερος | A σχῆμα τὸ κατὰ τὴν σάρκα | A μετὰ Ἰουδαίων] = 'et una cum servis,' which must be a falsification on the part of an Armenian scribe.

FRED. C. CONYBEARE.

ON THE COMPOSITION OF SOME GREEK MANUSCRIPTS.

II. The Ravenna Aristophanes.

This celebrated book, which, from its likeness to the Laurentian Sophocles, I take next in order, has received a detailed examination lately at the hands of M. Albert Martin, *Les Scolies du Manuscrit d'Aristophane à Ravenne*, Paris, 1882, and Professor Konrad Zacher, *Die Handschriften und Classen der Aristophanesscholien*, Leipzig, 1888, p. 529 sq.[1] In studying the ms. I have had their books constantly before me, and in the account which follows I have given due weight to their opinions, from which in some important particulars I find myself differing. The editor of several comedies, A. von Velsen, has also expressed his judgment, unfortunately too briefly, upon the composition of this book in the various prefaces to them[2]. I have inspected the book since 1889 several times; in September, 1893, and July, 1894, I made a detailed examination of it.

No complete facsimile of the book has ever been made. A very rough representation of a few lines is given by Invernizzi, who first used the ms. (ed. 1794); a page is given by Wattenbach, *Scripturae Graecae Specimina* 26, and by von Velsen, appended to his edition of the Knights, 1869 (long out of print), but the only adequate reproductions are the two pages in the Palaeographical Society's Collection, II. 105, 106[3].

[1] For information about other works on this ms., which however do not contain a palaeographical description, I may refer to Prof. Zacher's *Bericht über die auf die griechische Komödie bezügliche Literatur von* 1881 *bis* 1891, 1892.

[2] Equites, 1869 etc.

[3] Wattenbach gives a page of the Acharnians with scholia by B; the Pal. Soc.'s two pages are from the Knights. One shews scholia by B, the other wants scholia altogether.

The book consists of two fly-leaves, 191 pages, and one fly-leaf at the end. The material is vellum, the pages measure 325 × 213 mm., and are ruled for from 42—43 lines; the writing is below the line. The two fore fly-leaves are blank, except that on the verso of the second we have the inscription *Aristophanis codex optimus cum argumentis, et scholiis Anonymi | scriptus saeculo X. | Ita censebat Cyrillus Martinius | Florentinus.* Below this there is a list of the plays in a modern hand. The 191 pages are arranged according to the usual system, in gathers of four sheets, folded so that the hair sides of each pair are inward and face each other; the ruling is on the hair side. The age of the book appears to be exactly that of Laur. 32. 9, viz. the end of the Xth century or the beginning of the XIth. The contents are as follows; I will premise for shortness' sake that the quire-signatures, except where the contrary is stated, have perished.

Quire 1. ff. 1—8. Plutus 1—682 (no hypotheses).

2. ff. 9—16. Plutus 683—Clouds 129 (no hypoth.). F. 15 r. expl. Plutus, occupying on this f. 10 lines with text, one with ornament, one blank, one with colophon, the rest of the f. being blank. F. 15 v. inc. Clouds.

3. ff. 17—24. Clouds 130—821.

4. ff. 25—32. Clouds 822—end. F. 32 v. expl. Clouds, taking up 12 lines of the f., the rest (with the exception to be noted below) being blank.

5. ff. 33—40. Frogs 1—583. Ff. 33 r. and v. hypotheses, 34 r. inc. play.

6. ff. 41—48. Frogs 584—1254.

7. ff. 49—56. Frogs 1255—Birds 298. F. 52 r. at bottom expl. Frogs, 52 v. inc. hypotheses to Birds, 53 v. inc. Birds.

8. ff. 57—64. (Here, 57 r., there are the remains of a signature—part of η—and on 64 r. there is also an indistinct mark in the top corner.) Birds 299—961.

9. ff. 65—72. Birds 962—1597.

10. ff. 73, 74, 75. Birds 1598—end. F. 75 r. expl. Birds, taking up seven vv. of the f.; the remainder, and the whole of the verso, is blank.

11. ff. 76—83. Knights 1—727 (no hypotheses).

12. ff. 84—91. Knights 728—1361.

13. ff. 92—99. Knights 1362—Peace 503. F. 92 v. expl. Knights, taking 10 vv. of the page; seq. immediately an hypothesis to the Peace; 93 r. is blank, 93 v. inc. Peace.

14. ff. 100—107. Peace 504—1128.

15. ff. 108—116. Peace 1129—Lysistrata 434. F. 110 v. at bottom expl. Peace, leaving five lines free; 111 r. inc. hypoth. to Lysistr., 111 v. at the twelfth v. inc. Lys. following immediately on the hypothesis. F. 116 is added to the gather, being a half-sheet; its flap comes out between 107 and 108; it contains Lys. 359—434, and leaves nine lines on the verso blank. Its recto is the hair side; at the top outer corner of it are the signs *ια'*.

16. ff. 117—124. Lysistr. 435—1084.

17. ff. 125—132. Lysistr. 1085—Acharnians 373. F. 127 v. expl. Lys., leaving three lines blank; 128 r. inc. hypoth. to Ach., 128 v. inc. Ach.

18. ff. 133—140. Ach. 374—1067.

19. ff. 141—150. Ach. 1068—Wasps 602. F. 142 v. at bottom expl. Ach., leaving five lines blank; 143 r. inc. hypoth. to Wasps, 143 v. immediately after the hyp. inc. Wasps. Ff. 141 and 142 are prefixed to the quire; the two flaps appear between 150 and 151.

20. ff. 151—158. Wasps 603—1270.

21. ff. 159—166. Wasps 1271—Thesmoph. 379. F. 162 r. expl. Wasps, leaving all but four lines blank; 162 v. inc. Thesm. (without hyp.).

22. ff. 167—174. Thesm. 380—1044.

23. ff. 175—182. Thesm. 1045—Eccl. 446. F. 177 r. expl. Thesm. in the middle of the f.; there is no colophon, seq. immediately the hyp. to the Eccl., and leaves five vv. blank; 177 v. inc. Eccl.

24. ff. 183—190. Eccl. 447—1109.

25. f. 191. Eccl. 1110—end. F. 191 v. expl. Eccl., leaving nine lines blank. This single leaf is attached to a fly-leaf, on which in a XVth or XVIth century hand is a list of the plays, *ἀριστοφάνους ἀθηναίου κωμωδίαι τα κτλ.*

The number of quires will vary according as the extra

leaves are included in other quires or not; thus M. Martin gives 21, Herr Zacher 24 quires; I have thought it safer, so as not to prejudice any question, to count such extra ff. as are actually independent, separately.

In this arrangement there are obviously four anomalies, the 11th quire consisting of ff. 73, 4, 5, the 15th quire with its ninth leaf f. 116, the monstrous quire 19, and the single leaf which forms quire 25. In the explanation of these singularities this part of the description of the book consists. MM. Martin and Zacher, while they differ in detail, are agreed upon the principle that they invoke to solve the question; they believe that the scribe wrote the book in certain parts or volumes, which apparently had an existence already, perhaps in the archetype which the scribe followed: at all events the contents of the divisions are considered as previously fixed, and the beginnings of these 'Hefte' coincided with the beginnings of separate quires. The later part of the ms., or the later divisions, it is suggested, were written before the earlier, and therefore the scribe in his course of writing had constantly to adapt himself in thought to portions of his book already finished and awaiting him ahead[1]. Farther, as these 'Hefte' commence with new quires, similarly the scribe sought to conclude them with neatly-rounded quires, that the division of the author and the division of the book might coincide. But his calculations of necessity did not always fall out accurately, the plays differing greatly in length, and consequently every here and there a number of verses were left over at the end of a given gather; then, rather than let them run into a new gather and spoil the beginning of the next play, some extra pages were intercalated to hold them. So we see that while the Plutus and the Clouds are accurately included in quaternions 1—4, and quire 5 begins with the Frogs, at the end of quire 10 the lines Birds 1598 to the end are over, and these are written on pp. 73—5,

[1] This line of argument (which is rather the property of M. Martin) if followed out would never allow any part of the ms. to be written independently: *nam quamvis prope te quamvis temone sub uno | vertentem sese frustra sectabere canthum.*

to avoid marring the Knights, which begins on the first f. of the next quire. The same explanation is given of f. 116 (at least by M. Martin), of the monstrous quire 19, and the odd leaf 191. M. Martin concludes (p. XI) that the scribe "a, *comme on le faisait souvent*, divisé en plusieurs groupes le manuscrit qu'il avait à écrire; premier groupe, fol. 1—75, 9 quaternions, plus trois feuillets supplémentaires, les fol. 73, 74, 75; pièces: Plutus, Nuées, Grenouilles, Oiseaux;—deuxième groupe, fol. 76—140, 8 quaternions; pièces: Chevaliers, Paix, Lysistrata, Acharniens (pour cette dernière pièce, les v. 1—1067 seulement);—troisième groupe, fol. 141—191, folios supplémentaires 141—142, contenant la fin des Acharniens; le groupe régulier est formé de 6 quaternions et contient les Guêpes, les Thesmophoriazusae, et les Ecclesiazusae." Further, "Le copiste, en faisant sa division, paraît avoir eu pour règle, en général, de faire entrer dans chaque groupe un certain nombre de pièces complètes, ce qui entraînait cette conséquence que chaque groupe devait commencer avec le commencement d'une comédie." Herr Zacher's arrangement is as follows (p. 533): "Die ganze Handschrift ist demnach in folgenden Absätzen geschrieben:

Quat. 1—4: Plutus, Wolken.

Quat. 5—9 und die aus 3 Blättern bestehende Supplementärlage 10: Frösche, Vögel.

Quat. 11—15 und Supplementblatt 116: Ritter, Friede, Lysistrata bis v. 434.

Quat. 16—18 und die beiden der 19. Lage vorgehefteten Blätter: Rest von Lysistrata und Acharner.

Lage 19 ohne die beiden vorgehefteten Blätter (also auch Quaternio, aber irregulär geheftet), Quat. 20—24 und das an Quat. 24 angeheftete Blatt: Wespen, Thesm., Eccl.

Die Tendenz ist also in der Tat offenbar die, jedesmal zwei oder drei Stücke zu einem Hefte zusammenzufassen, welches aus einer Anzahl voller Quaternionen besteht, denen, wenn die Berechnung nicht genau zutrifft, noch einige einzelne Blätter zugegeben werden können. *Dieselbe Tendenz werden wir noch öfter antreffen....*"

These considerations stand on the border between Palaeo-

graphy and Philology; the wish to infer the nature of the archetype and to discover the principles on which a scribe worked is all but irresistible, especially in the present day when every scholar deals so largely in mss.: and it is inevitable that a future editor of the text or the scholia of Aristophanes will gladly adopt the conclusions of such distinguished predecessors, and develop with additions *de suo* who knows what hypotheses as to the circumstances of the Aristophanic tradition, separate *corpora* of various plays, different sources represented in the archetype, and the like[1]. It is therefore extremely important that these entire suppositions should be subjected to the unbiassed criticism of technical Palaeography.

First, as to the idea that a scribe liked to begin and end a play, or a series of plays, with whole quires; both M. Martin and Herr Zacher must forgive me when I say that it has not been my experience that this is a general practice; I may beg them to discover a trace of it in Laur. 32. 9, or (as to books), in the Venetus 454 of the Iliad. Ven. 474 of Aristophanes, to which Zacher refers, is differentiated essentially from the Ravennas by the fact that the text there is the work of more than one scribe. Let us see however what positive traces there are of this principle in the ms. before us. I append a table, in which the gathers and the places where the plays end are marked:

Quire I.	Plutus 1—682.
II.	Plutus 683—end. ‖ Clouds 1—129.
III.	Clouds 130—821.
IV.	Clouds 822—end. ‖
V.	Frogs 1—583.
VI.	Frogs 584—1254.
VII.	Frogs 1255—end. ‖ Birds 1—298.
VIII.	Birds 299—961.
IX.	Birds 962—1597.
X.	Birds 1598—end. ‖

[1] M. Martin himself has developed a connection (herein justly refuted by Herr Zacher, p. 534) between fol. 116 and the mutilated condition of the other Lysistrata mss.

Quire	XI.	Knights 1—727.
	XII.	Knights 728—1361.
	XIII.	Knights 1362—end. ‖ Peace 1—503.
	XIV.	Peace 504—1128.
	XV.	Peace 1129—end. ‖ Lys. 1—434.
	XVI.	Lys. 435—1084.
	XVII.	Lys. 1085—end. ‖ Ach. 1—373.
	XVIII.	Ach. 374—1067.
	XIX.	Ach. 1068—end. ‖ Wasps 1—602.
	XX.	Wasps 603—1270.
	XXI.	Wasps 1271—end. ‖ Thesm. 1—379.
	XXII.	Thesm. 380—1044.
	XXIII.	Thesm. 1045—end. ‖ Eccl. 1—446.
	XXIV.	Eccl. 447—1109.
	XXV.	Eccl. 1110—end. ‖

That is to say, out of eleven plays contained in this book, *eight* end inside a quire; *three* end with the quire, viz. the Clouds, Birds, and Eccl., but of these the two latter cases are not of real quires at all, and obviously need further explanation. There is therefore only *one* real case in the whole book of this principle, this inclination to end plays and quires simultaneously. If there is so little evidence for the desire to end a play with a quire, there is even less for the 'Hefte', the volumes into which the book was to fall; seeing that these 'volumes' themselves are a consequence of, an inference from, the aforesaid simultaneous termination of quires and plays. In fact, the inspection of my table reveals a quite contrary state of things; the plays to an unbiassed eye are dove-tailed into the gathers with remarkable complexity, as if in fact the simultaneous ending of plays and gathers had been avoided with as much care as a weak Caesura!

But let us examine the endings of these plays more in detail. The Plutus ends on the recto of the seventh leaf of a gather, and ceases at the 13th line, the rest of the page being empty, and the next play beginning on the verso. The Clouds ends on the verso of the eighth fol. of the quire, and ceases at the 12th line, the rest of the page being blank—blank that is to say with an exception to be afterwards noticed.

The Frogs end on the fourth leaf of the gather, and happen to cease exactly at the bottom of the page. The Birds end on the recto of the third leaf of a gather (to call it so); seven lines of the recto are taken up by the play, the rest and all of the verso is free. The Knights end on the verso of the first leaf, and are immediately followed by the hypothesis of the next play. The Peace ends on the verso of the third leaf, leaving five lines free to the bottom. The Lysistrata ends on the verso of the third leaf, leaving three lines free. The Acharnians end on the verso of the second leaf, leaving five lines blank. The Wasps end on the recto of the fourth leaf, and take up only four lines of it, leaving the rest free; the Thesm. ends on the recto of the third leaf, and is followed immediately by the hypothesis to the next play. Lastly, the Eccl. ends on the verso of the first leaf, nine lines from the bottom; though, as there is no play to follow, this detail is non-significant.

Leaving out the Eccl. then, we see that of 10 plays, two are followed immediately by the next, with no space left between; one happens to exactly fill the page; the remainder, that is seven out of 10, leave the page on which they terminate free.

The Clouds is one of these seven; for f. 32 v., with the exception of the first 12 lines, is unoccupied. This is the fact; MM. Martin and Zacher's explanation of it is that the scribe wished to begin a new play on a new quire. Is it not more reasonable, in view of the statistics we have just obtained, to say that the scribe desired to begin the new play on a *new page*? This I believe to be the true account; but there is a further circumstance to be considered. F. 32 v. is not entirely blank; beneath the text follow the words

αριστοφάνους ////////////////////
υπόθεσις ////////////////

with an erasure in each line. The remainder of the f. is really empty, and the Frogs, as stated above, begin at the top of the next page. Comparing the end of the Knights, f. 92 v., and of the Thesmoph., f. 177 r., it is plain that here originally

stood the colophon of the ending, the title of the hypothesis of the commencing, play, i.e. *ἀριστοφάνους νεφέλαι | ὑπόθεσις βατράχων.* Why (and when) the erasure took place, and why no hypothesis actually follows, I do not explain; but I may compare the even more irregular sequence at the beginning of the Peace, f. 92 v. sq., where on 92 v. the Knights end, the title $\overset{\pi}{\upsilon}$ *εἰρήνης* follows immediately, and the hypothesis, inc. *ἤδη τῷ* κτλ., while the next page, 93 r., is entirely blank, and the play does not begin till the verso. Possibly some defect in the archetype caused both these irregularities[1]; but however that be (and here is my point), it is manifest that in his original intention, the scribe had meant to continue the Frogs *immediately after* the Clouds, exactly as he did join on the Peace to the Knights, and the Eccl. to the Thesm. Therefore, against the idea that the scribe designedly finished the Clouds, or the Clouds and the Plutus, as a 'subdivision', within the first four quires, we have both the general practice of the ms. and the circumstances of the particular case.

I pass next to ff. 73, 74, 75, which are held to have been added by the scribe to avoid the necessity of breaking into the eleventh quire, already destined for (or even occupied by) the Knights. These three leaves are to-day independent, that is to say they are three half-sheets, not one sheet and a half; they have no connection with quire 9 or quire 11, but are glued to one another and to the back of the book. Now that they originally occupied this *intermundium,* three loose primordia, no one who has experience of mss. will maintain; they were originally stitched to something. To what? Here it is fortunate that we can obtain evidence of an objectiveness beyond suspicion. The leaves run, recto-flesh, recto-hair, recto-flesh; that is to say, following the practice of this and similar mss., they represent so far the beginning (viz. the first three leaves), not the end, of a quire; if they had been intended to conclude a quire, the order would have been recto-hair, recto-flesh, recto-hair. That is to say, they were not, like f. 116 (recto-hair),

[1] On referring to the editions I see that one hypothesis to the Frogs (iv. Dindorf), and two to the Peace (i. iv.), are wanting in R.

attached to the quire before, but like ff. 141, 142 (recto-flesh, recto-hair) to the quire after. This proof I regard as binding. They were therefore, exactly like ff. 141, 142, attached in front of the next quire; but as quire 19 broke from the weight on the thread (as we shall see later), so did this quire. The three outer half-sheets with their three respective flaps came apart, the flaps broke or rotted off, the thread-holes being distended, and the three ff. were left separate. The importance of this account is, that it does away *ipso facto* with the idea that the scribe designed to avoid breaking into quire 11, seeing that the extra leaves were actually attached to quire 11. The reply will be made, if this is so, how do you explain the existence of ff. 73, 4, 5, at all? why does not the Birds continue over quire 11 in the normal way? To this I answer that in Palaeography as elsewhere, the simpler hypothesis is preferable; and therefore, having shewn the groundlessness of the elaborate hypotheses of 'volumes' and 'subdivisions', I explain this irregularity by the supposition, always allowable, of a gap in the original. Ff. 73—5 contain the Birds 1598—1765, that is 167 lines; this represents two leaves of 42 lines on each side, a very probable number for the archetype. We have therefore to suppose two ff. of the archetype, perhaps the last of a quire, to have fallen out; the scribe, as happens often, copied on steadily, and only later discovered the omission; his writing being perhaps slightly more spaced than that of the archetype, he allowed three leaves to take the 167 lines, of which he only filled seven of the third. The case is absolutely parallel to that of ff. 141, 2, to which we shall come.

First, however, there is f. 116, the ninth leaf of quire 16. This is of less importance, for as Herr Zacher has observed, in any case the Lysistrata passes on to the next gather. The leaf contains Lys. 359—434, and leaves off on the verso nine lines from the bottom. We have therefore to deal with the every-day case of an omission, and the omission filled by an extra leaf, or sheet, according to its size. For an omission there may be several causes; on looking up the lines, I notice that 359 runs *ἦν προσφέρῃ τὴν χεῖρά τις*, and 435 ends *τὴν χεῖρά μοι | ἄκραν προσοίσει*, and in the absence of other

evidence I incline to think that this similarity of context may have determined the omission[1].

The next point to be considered is the remarkable gather 19. This consists of, first, two half-sheets, ff. 141 and 142, of which the flaps protrude between f. 150 and 151; then four entire sheets, ff. 143—150. The two half-sheets and the three first sheets are sewn together in the usual way, i.e. through holes in the central fold; the innermost sheet, f. 146 and 147, has come out of the original stitching, and is now sewn in modern thread through its right-hand leaf, to all the right-hand leaves beneath, including the two flaps of the half-sheets. Zacher's diagram is correct; there is however no importance to be attached to this eccentric stitching, for the original thread-holes remain in the fold of the fourth sheet, and there is no doubt that the whole, two half-sheets and four entire sheets, were originally sewn together in the normal way. The strain of the extra half-sheets caused the thread to break. So much for the facts. As to the meaning to be derived from them, it is at all events plain that since ff. 141, 142, which contain the end of the Acharnians, do actually form a gather with Wasps 1—602, they do not confirm the theory of the coincidence of play and gather. Why then do ff. 141, 142 exist? again, as for ff. 73—5, I propose the simple assumption that two half-sheets perished from the archetype, and were therefore omitted by the scribe; he afterwards supplied them, and tacked them to the beginning of the next gather. This supposition, which as I have said is of the easiest, is singularly confirmed, when we notice that the amount assumed to have fallen out of the archetype in these two cases is all but identically the same. Here Acharnians 1068—1234 was lost, viz. 166 lines; above, the last 167 of the Birds were lost. This very undesigned coincidence may I think be allowed to confirm my postulate of a natural and mechanical origin for ff. 73—5 and 141, 2.

Lastly, we have the half-sheet, f. 191, which follows quire

[1] But if anyone prefers, he may suppose one f. of the archetype to have fallen out. In the top outside corner of f. 116 is the numeral ιά', to which I cannot assign any certain meaning.

24, and contains the last 71 lines of the Ecclesiazusae. Here, if another argument is wanted, is one, against the 'volume' and 'quire' theory. Why, if the scribe naturally ended his plays with quires, did he not make this half-sheet a ninth leaf to quire 24 ? Why did he, on the contrary, turn its flesh-side to quire 24, in token of independence ?

As the result of this discussion, I think I have proved that the scribe of the Ravennas had no desire or predisposition to begin or to conclude the plays with quires; nor again, to group a play with one or more others. He wrote, like other scribes, continuously; a quire was to him what it is in a modern book, an arrangement for holding together sheets of material. It had no bearing upon, and made no difference to, the appearance of the book when made up, nor to its contents. A play ended or began where it naturally did, without consideration of the point reached in the quire. The scribe did take some account, as affecting the ultimate appearance of his book, of the *page*; he preferred to take space for his heading and his ornament by beginning a new play at the top of a page; and to do this he would sacrifice a dozen or so lines of the page before. The quire, once the book made up, disappeared, and was to the reader as non-existent, or nearly as non-existent, as it is in a modern book. Page, and position on the page, were all that affected his sensibility. The scribe therefore attended to the relation his pieces of writing held to the page; he did not always do so however; and no doubt here, as elsewhere, the consideration that ultimately weighed with him was a material one—the cost and the abundance of parchment.

The next point that requires discussion is the number of scribes that wrote the ms., and the share that each took in the work. It is admitted on all sides that the whole of the text is in the same hand, and that the scholia are in two. The question at issue is, whether one of the two scholia-hands is the same that wrote the text. I follow the same rule as in investigating Laur. 32. 9, namely, to discover and compare instances of places where the style of the text (minuscule) and

of the scholia (usually uncial) coincide. I call the text-hand T, and the first and second scholia-hands A and B respectively.

Quire 1. A in semi-uncial, both as to scholia and glosses. At the beginning of the book, both T and A are as usual smaller than their average of size, and therefore have a certain resemblance to each other.

F. 2 v. Plut. 142. A corrects the text; καταλύσειςη in minusc. F. 3 v. Plut. 215—17. om. in text (from homoeoteleuton); add. in top margin by A in minusc.; χχ στι πλ β ὁρᾶτε: χρ μὴ φρόντιζε μηδὲν ὠγαθε.

γ ἐγὼ γὰρ κτλ.

δ αὐτὸς κτλ.

ib. Plut. 251. μάλιστα om. T; add. A in marg. in minusc. without other sign. F. 4 r. Plut. 271. om. T: add. in marg. T. ib. Plut. 298. δροσερα κραιπαλῶντα; this, in the hand of T, might be thought to be added. It is probably only a case of two short lines written in one. F. 6 r. Plut. 438. om. T, add. A in marg. (sign) κειμ

α ἄναξ απολλον ὦ θοι κτλ.

F. 6 v. Plut. 509. marg. συμφέρειν in a coarse hand; by whom? F. 7 r. Plut. 516. √ in marg. T. (A late hand writes γρ. πάντων ἀμελοῦσι.)

Quire 2. F. 9 r. Plut. 713. marg. γρ. καὶ εὼ|ρακας A in uncial. F. 13 r. Plut. 1031. om. T, add. A in marg. (prefixing δ and γ to the text). χ στι β οὐκ ὀῦν καθεκαστηναπεδι|δον τὴν νυκτά σοι (in minusc.) with a scholion in semi-uncial. F. 14 r. Plut. 1129, 1130. om. T, add. T in marg. on the ruled lines of the text, but somewhat smaller and more abbreviated. Also add. A in top marg. χχ στι β, γ κτλ., prefixing α and δ to the text. This I imagine to have been done because the vv. as added by T are not conspicuous, and might be passed over; also, because they are not distinguished by numbers, and as written a reader would read them in this order, 1028, 1029,

1031, 1030. A therefore coming later made a new arrangement[1].

The title, colophon, and dramatis personae in the Plutus are by T in semi-uncial.

Quire 3. F. 18 r. Clouds 257. marg. ὡς αγροικος | ἀθάμαν εἰπ | αν φρίξου cω T in semi-uncial. F. 19 r. Clouds 327. marg. παροιμί επι | τ μεγάλα παρορων T in semi-uncial. (The ordinary A scholia are written round these lines.) F. 23 r. Clouds 671. *τῷ τρόπῳ*—673 *κλεώνυμον* om. T (from homoeoarchon). T adds the omitted words in the marg. without further mark.

Quire 4. F. 27 r. Clouds 1006. om. T, add. A in marg., prefixing the usual ᾱ, γ̄ to the text. F. 29 v. Clouds 1258. *κάρδοπον* T, marg. ⁘ T; A adds *η* above the line in the text (crossed out by a late hand). The dram. personae in this play are often, especially in the middle of lines, omitted by T (e.g. on f. 29 at vv. 1263, 1270, 1278, 1286, 1289, 1291, 1292, 1297). Sometimes they are added by A.

Quire 5. F. 33 r. Dramatis personae to the Frogs by T in semi-uncial. F. 34 r. Many of the lemmata here are in minusc.; so is the schol. on *ἀποπαρδήσομαι* (Frogs 10), viz. *εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ κτλ.* This minuscule is smaller than the usual minuscule of A. F. 35 r. The lemma *ποῖ γῆς ὁ τλήμων* (Frogs 85) also is in this smaller minuscule.

Quire 7. F. 51 r. Frogs 1453. om. T (from homoeoteleuton), add. A in marg. *στι κτλ.*, prefixing ᾱ and γ̄ to the text. F. 53 v. Birds 40, 41. *ἐπὶ τῶν κράδων ἀιδουσ' πάντα τὸν βίον* T; above *πάντα* we have a sign, and in the lower margin (sign) *στι ἀθηναίοι δ' επι τῶν δίκων | αδουσι πάντα τὸν βίον* A. F. 55 v. Birds 204. *καλοῦμεν αὐτοὺς* T, interlin. γρ. *καὶ καλοιμι ἀν αὐτούς* A; γρ. is in the usual A hand, while *καὶ κτλ.* are the previous small minuscule.

Quire 8. F. 58 r. Birds 417. A marg. γρ. καὶ δίχα τογ ῑ *κτλ.* in semi-uncial. (An ordinary scholion.) F. 63 r. Birds

[1] This explanation is directed against that of M. Martin l.c. pp. xv, xvi.

806. om. T, add. in marg. A $\overset{\chi\ B}{\sigma\tau\iota}$ *σὺ δὲ κοψίχωι γε* κτλ. in minusc.

Quire 9. F. 69 r. Birds 1308. *ἡμῖν* om. T, add. T. in marg., with the mark ÷ in the text.

Quire 11. F. 76 r. Here begins B in semi-uncial. F. 77 v. Knights 161. χλεγαζεις (semi-unc.) B above *καταγελᾶι* of T. Ib. Knights 169. *τὸυλεοντοδὶ* T; marg. *τὸ* μαγειρι|κον τραπεζιον B. Ib. above Knights 130. *καθεξει διοι|κησει* B in minuscule. Ib. Knights 143. om. T (from homoearchon); in marg. inf. ⸗ *ἀλλαντοπώλης ἑσθό τοῦτον ἐξελῶν* B in minusc., the same mark ⸗ being prefixed to v. 142.

Ff. 78 v.—92 v. have no scholia, and therefore the method of T may be studied to advantage. F. 79 r.[1] Knights 267. marg. ⁘ T. This refers to *ἔλεγον*, which stands in the text for *ἔμελλον*. F. 79 v. Knights 356. $\overset{\text{οι}}{\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu}$ T. F. 82 v. Knights 629. ⁘ in marg. T. The line stands *πιθανώτατα δ' ἡ βουλὴ ἅπασ' ἀνακρουωμένη.*

Quire 12. F. 84 v. Knights 804. ⁘ marg. T. *κεχήνει* is the only word that differs from the printed text (Bergk). F. 85 r. Knights 836. ⁜ in marg., but from what hand is uncertain. F. 88 r. Knights 1076. ⁘ in marg. T. No variation in the text.

Quire 13. Colophon to the Knights by T in semi-unc. F. 93 v. The Peace begins with scholia by A. Ib. Peace 33. marg. $\overset{\text{ογ}}{\Delta_{\text{c}}}$ τ cχημτ $\overset{\text{ο}}{|}$ την αδηφαγιαν αγ | δηλοῖ B, between the text of the A-scholia, and therefore written after them. Ib. A line in the scholia of the lower margin is by B, viz. φαγ- to περιεργως ἐσθιει; it is rubbed and has been restored. F. 95 v. Peace 177. *ἐγγύς* om. T, add. in marg, ˣ εγυσ (sic), perhaps by T. F. 98 v. Peace 402. om. T (from homoeoteleuton), add. in marg. sup. A, $\overset{\chi\ B}{\sigma\tau\iota}$ *κλεπται γὰρ* κτλ. (in minusc.)[2].

Quire 14. Peace 568. *αὐτων* om. T, add. in marg. T with ˣ. F. 101 r. Peace 622. T here has

[1] This page is given in the Pal. Soc.'s plate 106.

[2] Why does A restore omitted lines so high on the page? Probably to prevent them being taken for lemmata (cf. f. 14 r.).

κἀνεπειθοντοὺσ μέγιστο
κἀνεπειθοντῶνλακωνωντουσ κτλ.

i.e. having begun the line wrong he gave it up and recommenced it on the next line. To 622 there is in the marg. τῶν λα|κώνων, by A? F. 105 r. Peace 899. ἐξετε, text and correction by T. F. 106 r. Peace 985. κἀτ' | 'ν ἀπίηι T, marg. ⁘ T; this is now crossed through, and the text reads κἀτ' ἠν, the work apparently of A.

Quire 15. Ff. 107, 8, 9 have no scholia. F. 109 v. Peace 1263. λαβοιμὲν ἀὐτ' εσχαράκας T, at the end of the line ⁘. The dotting out is apparently done by T. F. 111 v. Lysistrata with scholia by B. But few dram. pers. are given by T, they are usually filled in by a late hand (Giunta?). F. 112 r. At the bottom, a piece of writing in an isolated hand, πονδωνφε. F. 113 v. Lys. 182. ἔχει, the lower part of the ligature ει erased; ηι seems to be by B. F. 114 r. Lys. 218. om. T, add. in marg. inf. B with the mark ·|·, in minuse.

Quire 16. F. 117 v. Lys. 499. om. T, add. in marg. B, with the sign ⁘ by the text, and στι ⁘ in the margin; these have been erased, possibly by Giunta, to prevent his printer reproducing them. F. 122 v. Lys. 902. om. T (from homoeoteleuton), add. in marg. B, without signs, but with κεῖ (= κείμενον) prefixed to the verse.

Quire 17. Lys. 1143. τετρακισχιλίουσ, corr. T. F. 130 v. Ach. 192, 193. om. T, add. in marg. B, with ⁘ to mark the place in the text.

Quire 18. Ach. 522. κα πέπραθ' αὐθημερόν T; ⁘ in marg. T, no correction. F. 138 v. Ach. 876; of this only τροχίλουσ κολυμβουσ is in the text, v. 877 is omitted altogether; in marg. ⁘ T, but again no correction. F. 140 r. Ach. 989. om. T, a line being left blank; it is inserted, in the vacant space, by B.

Quire 19. F. 141 v. Ach. 1141. om. T, a line being left

blank; in marg. ⁘, but the line is not restored. F. 142 r. Ach. 1176. om. T, ·ʃ· in marg., but the v. is not restored. F. 144 r. Wasps 45. *ὁ λᾶι*||*σ* T, in marg. ⁘; the erasure is a consequence of the sign. F. 144 v. Wasps 103. *εμβάδας* restored upon an erasure, but by what hand is not clear. F. 147 r. Wasps 280. *ἔ̈ψεῖσ*, in marg. ·< T. The correction seems the result of the sign. F. 150 v. Wasps 575. marg. τ
ΓΡ. ΚΑΙ ΠΛΟΥ B.

Quire 20. F. 153 r. Wasps 788. *δ̈ἄρχμὴν*, marg. ÷ *δραχμὴν* T. F. 156 r. Wasps 1020. *πολλὰ* om. T, add. B interlin.

Quire 21. F. 159 r. Wasps 1294, 1295. om. T, add. B in marg. inf. with the sign ·|·, in minusc. F. 161 r. Wasps 1487. ϰ
πλευρὰν τόσ̈, marg. ϰ *λυγίσανᵛ*, the four dots, both signs, and the variant are by B. F. 161 v. Wasps 1518. *ἄγ'—ψάμαθον* om. T, add. in marg. B, with ⁜. F. 162 v. Thesm. 4. *ὠϋριπιδη*, ⁘ in marg. T, no correction. Ib. Thesm. 28. om. T, add. in marg. B in minusc. [This v. has perished, and been partly revived; a late hand has affixed signs.] Ib. Thesm. 33. om. T, add. in marg. B. F. 164. Thesm. 169. om. T, add. in marg. B, with ⁝ to the text.

Quire 22. F. 167 v. Thesm. 434. ⸌χ⸍ add. B, *οὐπώ*ᵐᵒ, *πο* add. B. Ib. Thesm. 459. ΧΡ. add. B. F. 168 r. Thesm. 468. *ἐπιζεῖν, εἶ* add. in ras. B. Ib. Thesm. 493. *κινώμεθα. κιν* in ras. B. F. 168 v. Thesm. 520. ΧΡ. add. B. Thesm. λ
540. ΚΗ add. B, and so with other dram. pers. F. 170 r. Thesm. 646. ΗΚΕΙ ΠΑΛΙΝ÷ all in ras. B; in marg. ÷ θ
ἴσμον τίν ἔχεισ ωνθρωπε ἄνω καὶ κάτω ϰ, and ϰ is prefixed to 648. (647 is omitted by T.) F. 170 v. Nearly all the dram. pers. are by B. F. 172 r. Thesm. 805. *σαλλ̣αβακχοῦσ*, the second λ marked out by B. Ib. Thesm. 807; the mark ⏑ is before the verse, but there is no correction (*στρατωνίκην* seems to be the mistake). F. 173 v. Thesm. 938. *και* περ
αποθανουμένω, ΝΠΕΡ add. B. Ib. Thesm. 953. Ν
ποσίαγεσκύ, *α* and ΝΝ are by B.

Quire 23. F. 175 v. Thesm. 1102, 1103. om. T, add. in marg. B, the sign ⁘ has been erased by Giunta. F. 176 r. Thesm. 1135, ⁘ by T in marg.: in the text μαστηγαν has been corrected into μαστιγαν. F. 176 v. Thesm. 1176. ⁘ by T in marg., but no correction. F. 177 v. Eccl. 12 stands in T before v. 11. B prefixes the figures β̄ α. F. 178 r. Eccl. 75. τἀνδρεῖα om. in T, add. in marg. B. F. 178 v. Eccl. 92, 93. 92 originally ended τὸν πώγωνά τε; now we have π[ex τ]ρο||| τεραι λήσομεν ⁘ in ras. by B, and in the upper margin ⁘ ξυστειλαμεναι κτλ. (93) by B. There are many other cases of ⁘ written in the margin by T, and of corrections by B; I mention a few only. Ib. Eccl. 119. μεμετήκασί, ⁘ in marg.: λε is by B. F. 180 r. Eccl. 223. om. T, add. B in marg. sup. F. 181 v. Eccl. 353. After this line we have, ὁ μῶν ἠνθρασύ, marked out and the sign prefixed by T. F. 182 r. Eccl. 374. om. T, add. in marg. B with ÷. Ib. Eccl. 392. λ and χ in ἀντίλοχ', ξ in ἀποίμωξον are restored by B. F. 182 v. Eccl. 439. om. T, add. in marg. B with ⁘.

Quire 24. F. 183 v. Eccl. 525. om. T, add. in marg. B with ⁘.

This account (which is not intended to be exhaustive at any point of the book) gives a fair idea of the parts taken by T, A and B in the composition of the book. T in addition to writing the text appended in the margin constant marks as signals to the next comer of something wrong in the text. Many errors and omissions he corrected himself. A and B, in addition to writing the scholia, their proper office, took account of these signals intended for them, and in most places detected and corrected the error in the text to which they referred. Also, without such waymarks, of their own accord they correct the text. When they add omitted lines, and when they alter letters in the text, they use the minuscule style of writing, departing from the semi-uncial which they use for their scholia. This arrangement corresponds exactly to what we have seen in Laur. 32. 9, and it may be regarded as normal. It remains to consider whether these three apparent differ-

ences of hand indicate as many separate persons, and whether any one of these can be said to have exercised direction over the others. MM. Martin and Zacher agree that T, the text-hand, and A, the first scholia-hand, are one individual, who therefore wrote the whole text and a good part of the scholia; the second scholia-hand, B, they assign to a different individual. My study of the book has led me to a different conclusion; I regard T and A as different persons, as well as different hands. I proceed to prove this[1].

T and A have a very considerable resemblance to one another; both are delicate and graceful. At the beginning of the book in particular, where, as is often the case in mss., T for twenty pages or so is small and precise, the resemblance is close, and one might be inclined to accept M. Martin's statement (p. xv) that such difference as there is is due to variety of type and not of hands. A might well be T using semi-uncial. There are however, as in Laur. 32. 9, occasions where the comparison can be made at closer quarters. The titles and dramatis personae by T are in semi-uncial. This semi-uncial differs obviously from that of A. A's letters are spaced, upright, stiff, written with a hard pen. The strokes tend to great length, partly owing to the space afforded by the margin; e.g. *α*, *ρ*, *ξ*, *ι*. The whole is marked by extreme elegance. T's capitals, on the other hand, are short, low, and comparatively inelegant. The minuscule character is transferred to them, they are free and rounded. Specimens of T's capitals, beside the usual titles, colophon, and dram. pers., are the note *ὡς ἄγροικος κτλ.*, f. 18 r., and especially the note *παροιμια επι κτλ.*, f. 19 r. This lends itself particularly to comparison, for owing to want of space the ordinary scholia of A are written carefully *round* it. I know of no case of a hand changing its character as much as would be implied if T and A were the same person; if the scholia had been written by T, they would have been in the semi-uncial used for the titles and colophons.

Supposing, however, it were said, that the text-hand might

[1] A. v. Velsen (see the prefaces to his plays) regarded A and T as different hands.

have used one type of semi-uncial for headings, etc., in direct connection with the text and another for scholia—a very artificial plea—I have still the converse proof to bring to bear. We have seen that A supplies many lines omitted in the text, and, according to the usual rule, writes them in minuscule. Now, if A were T, it is inconceivable that this minuscule, employed in order to assimilate the supplementary lines to the text, should not have been the same as that of the text; here at least there can be no question of two styles. We even have examples of omitted lines added by T; e.g. f. 14 r., Plutus 1129, 1130, and here the identity with the text hand is evident. The minuscule however of A is as distinctive as its semi-uncial, the qualities of which it shares. T is a firm and free hand, rounded, ligatured, and very connected together, with a tendency to notch and finish off letters. The minuscule of A is thin, stiff, spaced like the semi-uncial; larger than T; the strokes are finer, the letters not rounded, and there is a certain carelessness with regard to space and line. The strokes are longer above and below: the elegance is superior to T, and is very great. Typical instances are f. 6 r., Plutus 438, 14 r., where Plut. 1129, 1130 are restored at the side by T, and at the top by A; here the difference is perspicuous. F. 33 r. sq., many of the lemmata about here are in minusc., and a minuscule different from that of the text.

I conclude therefore that the writers of the text and of the earlier part of the scholia are different persons; and this agrees with the usage in Laur. 32. 9, where throughout the text was subjected to the revision of two persons, the original writer and another.

There are also, in the part of the book for which A writes scholia, a quantity of glosses, in a minuscule much smaller than A or T. It might be a question by what hand they are written. I incline to think that they are also by A, and that the apparent difference is one merely of size. I may compare f. 34 r., where the scholion beginning *εἰς τὸ αὐτό*, 35 r., where the lemma *ποῖ γῆς ὁ τλήμων* are in a very small minuscule, resembling that of the glosses; these two passages are indubitably by A. Cf. also f. 41 v., where the character-

istics of the small minusc. appear clearly the same as those of A. Again, 53 v., Birds 40, 41, made into one line by T. Here the gloss-writer puts a sign over the word *πάντα*, while in the lower margin A gives (sign) *στι*, and the verse as reported above. This seems an overt connection between A and the gloss-writer. Again, f. 55 v., Birds 204; here we have an interlinear scholion, ⌐p. *καὶ καλοιμι ἂν αὐτούσ*; *καὶ— αὐτοὺς*, which is written small, is evidently in the same hand as the glosses, while ⌐p. is larger, in uncial, and identical with the scholia in the margin. I conclude therefore, that in spite of the difference in size, the glosses also are by A, and the arrangement is obviously natural.

The first trace of a new hand upon the margin is seen on f. 76 at the beginning of the Knights; scholia and the rare glosses are in a very different writing from A, and this new hand we call B. Its semi-uncial is clearly and obviously different from that of either A or T (Martin p. xiv, Zacher p. 535). In general its character is coarser and thicker than that of the others. (I do not however follow Zacher in finding a greater difference of tint between B and T than between A and T.) B's semi-uncial is always uncalligraphic, the letters are short, square, without tails; usually thick, but where the writing is cramped, thin and shaky. His minuscule is very large, sloped to the right, and fine; it has no resemblance to the 'x—xIth' century hand, and suggests a fine example of a xth century pen. Instances are f. 77 v. Knights 143 restored, 114 r. Lys. 218, 117 v. Lys. 499, 140 r. Ach. 989 added in the text and very different from T's writing, 159 r. Wasps 1294, 5 added in marg.

We have already seen the part played by B in correcting and supplementing the text. I proceed to notice other points connected with it. Its semi-uncial is normally thick, but at 112 r. is a specimen of it thinner, *εἰκότως κτλ.*; 112 v. we have a specimen of B's minuscule, *ἐκ τῆς τάξεως*. About f. 119 B begins to get smaller and thinner; the same is observable f. 128 r., where the Acharnians begin; this is possibly because the scholia are fuller. F. 162 v. A quantity of

scholia on this f. are in a small *minuscule* hand, viz. those beginning *ὁ χόρος—*, *προλογίζει—*, *ὦ ζεῦ χελιδὼν—*, *ἔξωθεν ἐν κύκλω* to *χωλὸς εἶναι*, *λείπει ἡ δια*—and *ἐπειδὴ οὐ πάλαι—*. It might be doubted who wrote these minuscule scholia; I take them to be an experiment on the part of B, made where a new play, the Thesmophoriazusae, began. The rest of the scholia are by B in a small shaky semi-uncial, and the minuscule in question resembles it by the disjointed way in which the letters are set up. Moreover the shade of the ink is the same. The particular feeble character of this writing vanishes on 163 v., to return however at 164 v. It is therefore probably a mood or whim of B's, the cramp that seems to seize a scribe when he makes a new start.

I recapitulate that the scholia are by two hands, A and B, each of which corrected the text of their respective portions. Is there any sign of a relation between A and B? does either correct the other? The traces of such overlapping are very slight, much less than in Laur. 32. 9. They are confined to the beginning of the Peace. Here, f. 93 v., the scholia were resumed after a break by A; on f. 93 v. we find at the line Peace 33 a scholion (*δια τοῦ σχηματος την αδηφαγιαν αυ δηλοῖ*) by B written between the A-scholia and the text; and in the margin below one line in the scholia is by B; it begins *φαν*..... and ends *περιεργως ἐσθιει*, and has been restored, having been rubbed out. These are the only signs of interference by B with A; yet on the strength of them, and the character of B's hand, I am disposed to agree with Herr Zacher (p. 536) in making B the director of the book.

We have now separated the hands and assigned to them their task in writing the book. I proceed to notice some more general characteristics. The book as a whole, in writing and get-up, is excessively like Laur. 32. 9, and I know of no mss., not by the same hand, that resemble each other at all so closely. The text-hand and A in particular are very close cousins of the first scribe and the director of Laur. 32. 9. Yet the two mss. are not by the same writer in any part of them; the reader may convince himself of this by comparing the facsimiles, and I can adduce my own impression, gained by

a night-journey across the Apennines, that the two books, at 16 hours interval, seem decidedly different. A and B, as against T, seem older hands; A is stiffer, and its forms more perfect, B is palpably grosser and unequal, but at the same time suggests an older and finer type. Both A and B shew the unevenness and irregularity which distinguish the scholia-hand from the regular uniformity of the text. The methods of attaching corrections are noticeable[1]. The scholia proper are unconnected with the text by any number or mark; T, as we have seen, called attention to doubtful places in the text by marginal signs, √· or ⁜. A and B distinguish their additions according to two methods, either by signs (÷, ×), or by prefixing $\overset{\chi}{\sigma\tau\iota}$ (*στίχος*) to the supplied verse (as A prefers), or similarly prefixing $\overset{\text{M}}{\kappa\epsilon\iota}$[2] (= *κείμενον*) as is rather B's custom. Both of these words are intended to point out that the verse in question is a 'line', or part of the 'text', and not a scholion or gloss. Numerals, ᾱ, β̄, etc., are usually employed to indicate the place that the verse is to take in the text. Some other noticeable points of arrangement are the following: 59 r., the schol. beginning *οἱ γὰρ ἵκτινοι τὸ παλαιὸν* refers to the next page; accordingly we find prefixed √· $\overset{\text{M}\quad\pi}{\text{τὸ cη εμ}}$ [i.e. *ζήτει τὸ σημεῖον ἔμπροσθεν*], with a sign added, and on 59 v. the *σημεῖον* occurs. 70 v. similarly √· $\overset{\lambda\quad\pi}{\text{τὰ cκο εμ}}$, 72 r. √· $\overset{\pi}{\text{εμ τα}}$ $\overset{\lambda\ \text{o}\upsilon}{\text{cχο τ χορο}\tilde{\upsilon}}$; the chorus (Birds 1553) had begun five lines from the bottom of 72 r. 181 v. the line after Eccl. 353 is marked out by dots and the sign ↄ.

The way in which the scholia are divided between A and B is peculiar, and deserves notice[3]. A begins, and writes the

[1] Many observations upon the method of the scholia, and the difference in this respect between A and B, are made by Zacher, p. 536 sq., but do not affect the subject here.

[2] The use of $\overset{\chi}{\sigma\tau\iota}$ is universal in mss. for this purpose; *κείμενον* = 'text' as opposed to comment also is frequent; cf. e.g. Ven. 474, f. 116 r., $\overset{\tau}{\text{ζ}}\eta$ *τὸ κείμενον ὄπισθεν*. Vat. Pal. 203 a catena, the lemma of text to be commented on is always called *κείμενον*.

[3] Cf. Zacher, p. 535.

scholia to the Plutus, Clouds, Frogs, Birds, viz. down to f. 75, without interruption. At 76 r. B takes up the scholia to the Knights, and continues over 76 v., 77 r., 77 v., 78 r.; 78 v.—92 v. however have no scholia at all (Knights 216—end). At 93 v., where the Peace begins, the scholia come back, but they are written by A, not by B; B however makes on this page the two excursions into A's province which we have noticed above. A continues from 93 v. to 106 v. Ff. 107, 108, 109 again have no scholia, and there are none till 111 v., where the Lysistrata begins with scholia not by A but B. From here to the end of the book the scholia are by B, and are regular. These two omissions of several pages each, and the alternation of A and B, are curious phenomena, which it is difficult to explain. The resumption of the task by A at 93 v. might be due to the direction of B, if we suppose B director; but how is it that the greater part of the Knights and a considerable part of the Peace have blank margins[1]? Either there was a corresponding gap in the archetype (though this is but putting the difficulty a step further back), or our ms. is incomplete, that is to say for some reason or another the writing of scholia was never finished, and to this opinion I incline. In any case one should observe that these omissions have no relation either to particular quires, or to the supplementary leaves ff. 73—5, 116, and 141, 2.

It is no part of my task to attempt the reconstruction of the archetype of the Ravennas. I agree, however, with Herr Zacher, p. 542, in holding, against M. Martin, p. xiii, that it was a ms. similar to, and not much older than, the Ravennas itself[2], and I may bring the confirmation of the number of lines (42, the same as in the Ravennas) which the archetype apparently possessed (ante p. 309). Herr Zacher's considerations on p. 542 appear to me sound, as long as he confines himself

[1] The irregularities at 32 v., and the blank page 93 r., are similarly in need of explanation.

[2] That there were copies of Aristophanes produced during the xth century is I imagine hardly open to doubt. We have a fragment of one, contemporary or nearly so, with the Ravennas, in the palimpsest Laur. 60. 9 discovered by Keil (Hermes, 1891, p. 128 sq.).

to permutations of letters. I must be permitted, however, to express grave doubts as to the proof derived from assumed interchanges of compendia. In my experience compendia are less often confused than the same syllables written in full; for instance, a variant of *πάντων πάντως* is safer and more easily explained as arising from *πάντων πάντως* than from *παντῶ παντ$^{\omega}$*; and so on through the other exx. which Zacher brings. An additional precision in fact, not an increase of confusion, is given by the use of compendia, at least as long as we are dealing with scribes of this period. That a writer of the XIVth century might misunderstand the (rarer) compendia of the Xth, I am not concerned to deny.

The abbreviations used in the Ravenna ms. are collected by Martin, p. xvii sq. They are not excessive in proportion, nor are any of them uncommon, with the exception of *ηρ* and *εν*. Of the former I have noticed *ἀνηρ* 10 v., 81 v., 186 r. bis, and in other places; of the latter *ἱερευς* bis 14 v., *βασιλευς* 3 r., *μεγαρευς* 137 r. Cf. on Laur. 32. 9, vol. XXII. p. 168. The sign for *αις* also appears with superfluous dots in several places in the text, e.g. 184 v.[1]

The history of this book is made out up to a certain point[2]. Von Velsen's marvellous identification of it, by means of apparently meaningless marks on the margin of two plays, with the manuscript that Giunta professes he used for his second edition, shewed that it had belonged soon after its arrival in Italy to the Ducal library of Urbino; but between that time and 1728, when D'Orville saw it at Ravenna, there was no documentary evidence of its fate; M. Martin (p. i) was told at Ravenna according to tradition it had been bought at Pisa by the founder of the Camaldulensians' library. This tradition is proved to be true in fact by a document which the kindness of the Librarian of the Biblioteca Comunale enables me to quote. In July, 1894, the Librarian shewed me

[1] I sympathise with Zacher's argument, p. 543, by which he seeks to read κλειcθεν as *κλεισθένει*; I dare say the learned writer has before now seen that it is more easily explained as *κλεισθένους*. See any of the manuals.

[2] For details and authorities upon this interesting question see Zacher's *Bericht*, p. 13 sq.

a paper book with the title *Inventario dei codici della Classense compilato dal prē ab. Canneti indi dal pre Fiacchi*; on p. 87 of this begins a list entitled *Codices MSS. Pisani empti ac translati in Classensem Bibliothecam anno* 1712 *mense maio*, among which, on p. 90, we read this entry: *Aristophanis Comoediae grecè cum Anonymi Notis iis quoque grecè scriptis. Codex membran. vetustiss. fol.* This is evidently our ms., which was therefore bought at Pisa by the Abate Canneti in May, 1712. There are many other mss. and books registered as having been bought at the same time, and in the month of June, and these indications, together with an examination of the books themselves, should enable an Italian bibliographer to discover what family or corporation was at that time selling a large library, and thereby perhaps to recover the history of the ms. during the two hundred years of its existence between Urbino and Ravenna[1].

To recapitulate the history of the composition of the book, we find that evidence of supervision and direction is slighter in this ms. than in Laur. 32. 9. We can say for certain that the text was written, continuously and without breaks, by one and the same scribe, who began one play where the other left off, leaving often the remainder of a page blank, but paying no further heed to the manner in which the plays overlapped the quires of his vellum. He copied an archetype very much resembling the book he made himself in age and size; he exercised a certain faculty of revision over his own writing, corrected mistakes and added omitted lines. Usually, however, wherever he was conscious of a difficulty or an error, he marked the place by a marginal sign, and left it to be considered by those who should come next. He made, whether owing to gaps in the archetype or to his own carelessness, three omissions of some length. He inserted new leaves, three in one case, one in another, two in the third, and at-

[1] Signor Emidio Martini, Prefetto of the Braidense at Milan, has had the kindness to make very considerable enquiries, unfortunately without result, on my behalf. I take this opportunity to express my obligations to his generous exertions.

tached them to the quire either before or after the omission. The ms. thus read continuously.

This scribe was followed by two others, who dividing the ms. roughly between them, wrote scholia and glosses on the margins and between the lines of text; read the text, corrected, supplied, at their discretion, taking account also of the signals left for them by the first scribe. From their writing one might imagine that these men were older than the text scribe, and particularly the second of them; whom, from the fact that in one or two places we find him supplementing and correcting the work of the other scholia-scribe, we are inclined to call the director. Compared with Laur. 32. 9, to which the book has a close resemblance, it is carelessly put together, a fault chiefly noticeable in the entire absence of scholia and marginal corrections for several successive pages of two plays.

THOMAS W. ALLEN.

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